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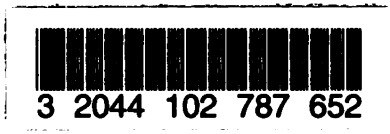
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PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE

THE STUDY OF NATIONS

AN EXPERIMENT IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

BY

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WITH CHAPTERS ON CHINA AND JAPAN

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE American Nation has gradually recognized that the trend of world-events has swept it from a place of minor importance in international relations to a place of major influence in world affairs. On the one hand, its internal affairs have become so entangled with its neighbor-nations that it cannot longer solve its own problems without a due understanding of the national traditions, aspirations, and needs of the peoples surrounding it. On the other hand, it has become so powerful in the world's respect that it has with sudden compulsion been forced to assume, along with the other great societies of the earth, its full share of responsibility for world-civilization.

Never again can the American people return to the narrowly national political philosophy of the pre-Spanish War period. It cannot even fall back to the reticent policy of partial participation which it favored prior to the Great War. The fact of the interdependence of all nations, great and small, has been thrust upon the American people and its leaders with startling abruptness by the events of the past two years. Our country is somewhat amazed by its own prestige and influence. It realizes that it already carries a responsibility much larger than its popular

mind is trained to handle. It feels the immediate necessity of thorough preparation for its tasks.

The first need is that the American people as a whole shall understand the other constituent peoples of the world with whose affairs it is inevitably concerned. Much understanding has already come to Americans, particularly to our adult citizens, during the discussions that have paralleled the great strife. But we are lacking in the basic point of view and background which a systematic school education might have given us in the appreciation of the nature of nationalities other than our own. The teaching of national civics in the public schools must be supplemented by instruction in international civics based upon a comprehension of the factual differences of custom, tradition, and belief. The task is new and difficult, but a beginning should be made at once.

It will not suffice that our diplomats and other political leaders comprehend the nations which surround us. In a democracy such as ours the most intelligent and forceful leadership has no power independent of the popular will. Statesmen can only interpret and give form and procedure to public opinion. The levels of wisdom from which unified national action may emerge are founded, first, upon the stock of information and attitude acquired in youth; and, second, upon the skill with which such resources of character and intelligence are in adult life applied to changing issues through current public discussion.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The task of the schoolmaster is to create a foundation for international understanding.

The volume here presented is devised as an aid to American school teachers who would begin to widen the civic horizons of their pupils. It emphasizes the larger facts, omitting multitudinous details which might obscure important things. It stresses point of view and method in gaining understanding and suggests ubiquitously the high importance of attitudes of appreciation and tolerance. Its treatments are typical and suggestive rather than comprehensive. It is written for the teacher who cares deeply about America and its international obligation and who is devoted enough to shoulder another educational load for the welfare of mother-country and its neighboring world.

PREFACE

THE "Study of Nations" is an experiment in social education through the medium of Modern History.

History in the schools has recently been put on the defensive, challenged as a failure in its civic function. Its established theory, in the minds of its critics, crumbles for lack of definite social purpose. The traditional aims, now questioned, were well defined by the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association. Their report, indeed, *The Study of History in Schools*,[1] has commonly been regarded as the Bible of the history teacher. It would seek by the study of history to develop in the pupil those qualities which make for individual power, "good judgment," "a scientific habit of mind," "skill in extracting knowledge from the printed page," etc. In such a scheme, excellent for the development of scholarly method, the sentiments and ideals which govern group action are largely left to take care of themselves.

Reforms and projects for reorganization are still tentative. One specific principle for experiment, however, has emerged clearly. The high-school course in the history of modern nations should have one defi-

[1] *The Study of History in Schools.* Report to the American Historical Association of the Committee of Seven. The Macmillan Company. New York, 1899.

nite purpose — to give to the future citizens of the United States such training that they may be fitted to take, not an isolated, but a coöperative part in the great world movements of their time.

The proposed course the "Study of Nations" is an outgrowth of various timely suggestions in this direction offered in the Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the National Education Association. The very nomenclature adopted by the Committee indicates the social tendency of its recommendations. A "Committee on Social Studies," it calls itself. *The Social Studies in Secondary Education* is the title of its report.[1] Its platform, therefore, gives to the individualist purpose in education only a secondary place. "The training of the individual as a member of society" is the duty which it lays upon the schools. History and civics, and so-called social studies, are to contribute to this end "through the development of an appreciation of the nature and laws of social life, a sense of the responsibility of the individual as a member of social groups, and the intelligence and will to participate effectively in the promotion of social well-being." Above all else, the high-school pupil is to "acquire the social spirit."

The objectives of the two reports are not mutually

[1] *The Social Studies in Secondary Education.* Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. Washington, D.C., 1916.

exclusive. In neither case are history teachers called upon to abandon the development of the individual boy or girl. An effective social group, all agree, can only be made of intelligent individuals. The report of the National Education Association Committee, however, reflects more accurately than the other the tendency of contemporary thought and would seem to offer more constructive proposals for the need of the present day.

The Committee on Social Studies, moreover, is more explicit in its suggestions than any previous authority. It not only outlines a plan of study for each of the four years of the high-school curriculum; it indicates in each case the definite social need which the course is designed to serve. Thus, in the teaching of American history, the object is "to develop a vivid conception of American nationality, a strong and intelligent patriotism, and a keen sense of the responsibility of every citizen for national efficiency." The history of foreign nations is intended to cultivate "a sympathetic understanding of such nations and their people, an intelligent appreciation of their contribution to civilization, and a just attitude toward them."

Since the publication of this report in 1916 the course of public events has emphasized even more sharply the need for training in the larger sympathies. With every month it becomes more apparent that an intelligent understanding of foreign conditions and

points of view will henceforth be requisite for efficient American citizenship. The very revelations of the draft have shown how great is the need for mutual understanding and forbearance between the various racial elements in our own country. In the conduct of foreign affairs great issues are at stake — "the self-determination of nations," the substitution of the "big brother idea" for the old imperialist policy toward small nationalities, the projects for leagues of nations. The highest aims of to-day's statesmanship depend for their fulfillment upon the breadth of vision and intelligence of the average voter.

As one way of meeting this educational need, Mr. Clarence D. Kingsley has proposed to substitute the "Study of Nations" for the usual high-school course in modern history.[1] History, by this means, becomes an elementary study of nationality. Each nation is carefully considered by itself, that pupils may gain a definite impression of its individual characteristics. First it is viewed as it appears to-day; then its development is briefly traced that present conditions may be seen in their proper perspective. After this historic background has been sketched in, an attempt is made to evaluate the peculiar gifts of the country and its people to the sum of modern civilization. "The

[1] Kingsley, Clarence D.: "The Study of Nations: Its Possibilities as a Social Study in High Schools"; in *School and Society*, vol. III, pp. 37–41 (Jan. 8, 1916).

N.B. The initial suggestion for such a course was made by Dr. Felix Adler in *The War and the Social Crisis*.

idea should be developed," says Mr. Kingsley, "that every nation has, or may have, something of worth to contribute to other nations and to humanity as a whole." Such a course of study, it is hoped, would tend to reduce the friction in international affairs created by the clamor of popular ignorance, would "help to a truer understanding and appreciation of the foreigners who come to our shores," and would enable us to value backward peoples by the promise of their latent possibilities rather than on the basis of their present small achievements.

The practical application of this plan of study to the work of the secondary school has been the subject of experiment for the last three years in the High School of Somerville, Massachusetts. The classes chosen for the trial in the first two years of the high-school course had taken work which corresponded very closely to the recommendations of the Committee on Social Studies. In the first year they had studied Community Civics and in the second year European History to 1700. They were already familiar, therefore, with the methods of Community Civics, with library reference work and the usual requirements of historical study. The experiment has met with varying degrees of success, but on the whole seems full of promise. Similar courses are being worked out in the Horace Mann School, Teachers College, Columbia University, by Mr. Roy W. Hatch, in the Technical High School, Newton, Massachu-

setts, by Mr. Horace Kidger, and in several other places. If these initial attempts can be made the nucleus for the coöperative effort of many teachers, it is hoped that they may point the way to a more satisfactory reorganization of this particular branch of study.

The outline of work presented in this book is to be regarded as merely tentative. To formulate for the use of students a definite concept of the various nations is an audacious undertaking. It has been observed, with a large measure of truth, that the task calls for a person endowed with omniscience. The impression left on the minds of pupils must be clear and distinct, yet without bias, always subject to the revision of later experience. A friendly and appreciative spirit must pervade the work, yet admiration must not be carried to the point of exaggeration. The individuality, the peculiar mental atmosphere of each people, must make itself felt. Above all else the teacher must be on guard against unconsciously twisting the facts of history to establish the truth of a preconceived notion. Clearly this is a subject for prolonged and repeated experiment.

The choice of material offers at all times a difficult problem. The topics of first importance seem numberless, but the available time is strictly limited. Many pupils must be left with curiosity unsatisfied, like the little Swedish girl who asked: "Why is it we don't hear more about Gustavus Adolphus? My

mother says he was one of the greatest characters in history." The same query might be made as to many another commanding historic figure. Fortunately it is not the intention to give an encyclopedic knowledge of the facts of history. A careful limitation of boundaries is the first essential. The basis of selection from the mass of material must change from year to year with changing conditions.

For the present, the teacher of modern history works under a certain compulsion. The Great War is the outstanding fact of our time. It is the great objective to which all roads must lead. This is the thought of both parents and children. As one father said to his daughter, telling her to write down carefully all she learned at school about the causes of the war: "We working-men are too busy to get at the rights of this thing. You who are in school are the ones who must pass on the truth about it to those who are to come after." All questions of comparative value of material must be settled with reference to this crisis. The leading nations in the conflict must be studied in detail, those of less importance in more cursory fashion. France, England, Germany, and Russia, for instance, must become familiar acquaintances. Their names must stand in the mind for distinct conceptions. Not only their aims and ambitions, but all that goes to make up their "self-hood" is of importance. The lesser peoples may be treated with much less detail. Then at the last all the threads may be gathered

up in the consideration of the causes of the struggle. The nations which were separate entities are now seen acting in groups until the study becomes merged in the story of the Great War.

In the publication of the following monograph the writer acknowledges special obligation to Mr. Clarence D. Kingsley, State Supervisor of High Schools for Massachusetts. Mr. Kingsley has repeatedly urged upon teachers the possibilities of "The Study of Nations" as a high-school subject, and has formulated the principles for its arrangement. While he bears no responsibility for the way in which his principles have been applied to the work of the classroom, his suggestions, from his article in *School and Society*, referred to above, have shaped the main features of the course. His courteous interest in the progress of the work and his careful reading of the manuscript have been a definite and valued help.

A heavy debt of gratitude is also due to Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette, of Denison University, who from his expert knowledge of the Orient and Oriental history has kindly contributed the chapters on "China," and "Japan."

The writer takes this opportunity to express, as well, her appreciation for the kindness of Mr. Charles S. Clark, Superintendent of Schools, Somerville, Massachusetts, and of Mr. John A. Avery, Head Master of the Somerville High School, without whose

permission and coöperation the experiment herein described could not have been given a trial.

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I

THE STUDY OF NATIONS

1. THE METHOD OF APPROACH

THE arrangement of material in the "Study of Nations" is based upon the principle of which Dr. John Dewey is the great protagonist: namely, that it is the business of the school to meet the needs of present growth in the child. As the first step in that direction, the course is so planned as to begin at a point of contact with the pupil's immediate interest. By this means it is believed that the study of history will gain in dynamic force; that its impact upon the mind and conscience of the pupil will be more effective.

Too many parents and children — even some teachers — have the idea of history expressed by one high-school student just beginning the subject. In response to the question, "What do you think you ought to get out of a course in history?" she replied, "As my study of history will probably end with my high-school career, I think it will be to my advantage to use all the energy possible in the systematic absorption of all history, in the hope that in the years to come I may remember a few facts." The rewards

of effort are set far in the future. The school work bears no relation to the life of the present. As a result it naturally follows that the study of history ends with the high-school career.

The problem of the educator is to find a method of approach which will open the pupil's mind to his immediate use for history. He must be made to see its connection with his own life. Almost any boy is eager to understand the world of to-day, even if he does not care particularly about that of his ancestors. He appreciates the necessity of knowing something about the Great War, although the Persian wars seem to him merely "a tale that is told." If he expressed his real feeling about history he might say with the poet, "Let the dead past bury its dead." His concern is with life, here and now. The zest which the normal boy brings to the discussion of anything which plainly belongs to the world of to-day may well convey a hint to his teacher. Why not use this interest in the present as an entering wedge to the study of former times? It may be possible to make of contemporary history a veritable "open sesame" to reveal the treasures of the past.

On this theory, in the "Study of Nations," present conditions are viewed first; then historical material is introduced to furnish explanation for the situation of to-day. In other words, the "problem method" is used as far as possible, the problem being taken from some aspect of current history while the matter

for solution is drawn from the past. For instance, almost all children have heard vaguely of the recent revolution in Russia. They are already intensely curious about it. The briefest class discussion brings out a question as to its causes. This opens the way at once to a study of the rule of the Czars. The class turns to the account of Peter the Great and follows the development of the Russian system of autocracy. At every step the reasons for the recent revolution become more clear. The present leads directly back to the past, and knowledge of the past, in turn, is seen to be essential to an understanding of the present.

The exact starting-point will be determined by the character and personnel of the class. If the pupils are especially interested in the commercial branches, some phase of commercial activity may be chosen for a beginning. If they are drawn from several different nationalities, the path to European history may lead through their racial affiliations. Probably no two classes will offer just the same opening. It matters little, if only the start be at some point of vital interest.

This method of approach relieves the instructor of the need to make history attractive by artificial stimulus. The temptation to cheapen the subject in order to make it entertaining no longer exists. The teacher's business now is not to infuse interest from outside, but to discover where it exists, and then use

it. The attention of the class will be unflagging as long as the connection is clear between the subject of study and the object of their curiosity.

This very ease in holding attention makes the method an object of suspicion to some teachers. They question its wisdom from the very fact that by starting at the point of the child's present interest the course of study follows the line of least resistance. These teachers argue that the child of to-day gets but little moral discipline at best. They feel that unless the school makes him do that in which he has no special interest, he will grow up the slave of wandering impulse. On this point the experience in Somerville has gone to substantiate the arguments set forth by Dr. John Dewey in his monograph, *Interest and Effort in Education.*[1] It has been found, as Dr. Dewey suggests, that any problem, however approached, if persistently followed to a solution, develops of necessity the power of sustained effort. When the pupil's interest is enlisted by his sense of need the call upon the will power is no less insistent than when his effort is stimulated by artificial means.

That the approach from the present gives point and direction to the work is indicated by the naïve comment of a pupil just finishing the course: "I like to study history from the point of view of the present best, because I think that in that way you start with

[1] Dewey, John: *Interest and Effort in Education.* Riverside Educational Monographs. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

the way things are situated now and then explain them, and in doing the other way you get all the explanation before you really know what you are trying to explain."

Unfortunately for the teacher, complications may arise from the fact that history is not made along pedagogical lines, proceeding gradually from the simple to the more complex. It is not always easy, therefore, to find a point for the opening drive which will lead easily to the desired objective. On one occasion, for instance, a teacher finding her class interested in the Alsace-Lorraine question, took that knotty problem as the point of departure, only to become hopelessly entangled in its intricacies. Both teacher and pupils were glad to escape back to the safe and beaten track of chronology. Skillful choice of material and careful planning on the part of the instructor can alone insure to the pupil a task commensurate with his powers. The measure of his success will be the test of the teacher's ability and experience.

The order of procedure from the present to the past is exactly that which is now being followed by the adult world. Since the outbreak of the Great War, history has come into sudden popularity. Never since the days of John Fiske have historical lecturers drawn such large audiences. Never have books on history had such a wide circulation in the public libraries. In school, pupils frequently excuse

themselves for tardiness in returning works of reference to the historical library on the ground that "father was reading it." Parents who have never before shown bookish tastes are reported as reading every history that is brought home from school. But this new zeal for research is not due to mere antiquarian interest. The meetings of the local historical societies are as select as ever. The dust is still undisturbed on the volumes of Gibbon and Hume. The older generation is in complete accord with the boy who said: "We are n't worrying about the Middle Ages. What we want is to understand about this war." The world outside of school has taken to reading history with a single purpose — to get light on current problems. For a like reason the children are ready to follow the same impulse.

The advantages of this method of approach were strikingly presented several years ago by Sir Roland Knyvet Wilson in the *Contemporary Review*.[1] In an article entitled "Should History be Taught Backwards?" he voiced a question which has been somewhat widely echoed in our own day. He contended that to the English schoolboy of his time the Near-Eastern Question might be an open door to the history of international relations since the advent of the Turk in Europe, exactly as we see in the conditions that led to the Great War an introduction to the story of colonial expansion or to the development

[1] *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 70, p. 391.

of the democratic ideal in Europe. To him, as to the teacher of to-day, an arrangement which allowed the boy to proceed from the known to the unknown had much to recommend it.

The "Study of Nations," however, does not really involve the teaching of history backwards. Such disregard of the claims of historical perspective might perhaps be considered subversive of scholarly method. Nor would it be consistent with the virtue of "historical-mindedness" thus insistently, of set purpose, to read the present into the past. Quite different is the arrangement which uses the present as an introduction merely to study of the past, or as a means of giving definitive aim to the work, and then presents the facts of history in strictly chronological order, with every safeguard for the correct perspective. The order of events under each main topic in the outline for the "Study of Nations" is chronological as well as logical.

This use of the present situation as an introduction to the study of the past is also to be differentiated from that widely advertised by certain periodicals according to which the passing event is made the starting-point for historical study. This, which has been called the "hop, skip, and jump method," has found many followers among teachers. Although such a plan has the virtue of making instant appeal to the interest of the student, it is as divergent as possible from the method of the "Study of Nations."

In the latter course the starting-point is not the current event, but the present condition. Instead of following recent happenings in rapid gyrations around the globe, the "Study of Nations" selects as a starting-point the present characteristics of civilization in one nation and develops from that point a fairly comprehensive view of the national life and history. It is believed that this arrangement gives a comparatively stable basis on which to build. It also permits the organization of the course into a logical whole.

2. THE FRUITS OF EXPERIENCE

THE "Study of Nations" as outlined is an adaptation of the methods of Community Civics to the study of Modern European History. It provides for a study of modern nations as enlarged communities. Pupils approach the problems of life in these nations from a carefully selected vantage-point at which the problem touches their own experience or interest. The spirit in which the work is planned is that of a little girl discussing a point in Community Civics who said: "We can't tell where our community ends. It may reach even to Italy." To bring Italy or any other foreign country within the range of community interest and social obligation is the main object of the course.

The necessity for this internationalist teaching is

now universally recognized. How far the "Study of Nations" is calculated to meet the need is another question. Many teachers contend that the traditional course in history is already sufficiently well adapted to the purpose; that the radical revision of method adopted for the "Study of Nations" is unnecessary. Others think the methods here suggested not merely unnecessary, but of doubtful value in themselves. Still others would gladly revise their work along the proposed lines, but are deterred by practical difficulties. The time is not yet ripe to make any definite claims for the "Study of Nations." The experience of only three years must carry but little weight. The fruits of that experience may be worth recounting, however, if only as a guide to further criticism. In variety of suggestion is the hope of progress.

That some revision of the method and content of high-school history would be desirable is now generally conceded. For some years teachers of history have been put on the defensive. In some cases they have even been called upon to give excuse for being. The very fact that this demand for reform is so loud and so insistent would seem to indicate that history in the schools has not yet been shaped to the fulfillment of its highest purpose. Whether the necessities of the case call for such radical reconstruction as is suggested for the "Study of Nations" is not so clear. The proposed methods, however, are in accordance with

the general trend of modern educational experiment. As such they seem worthy of trial.

The arrangement of material is especially adapted to the main purpose of the work — the development of a spirit of international sympathy. To this end each nation is studied separately. By this means the appeal made to the sympathies is more potent than if many nations are studied together. As one reading biography insensibly comes to sympathize with its subject, so in following the fortunes of a single people one unconsciously espouses their cause. A degree of human interest enters into the story of a single race or nation which is less noticeable when the mind is fixed upon the interaction of several different nationalities.

The treatment of one nation at a time, too, has proved a more satisfactory arrangement from the teacher's point of view than the plan of the usual textbook. Much of the difficulty in teaching modern history arises from its complexity. In ancient history events turn naturally about a few great states or figures. The pupil is not required, as in modern history, to carry in the mind many parallel lines of development. Each of the great nations of antiquity has certain distinct characteristics which readily differentiate it from its neighbors. In the course of years the textbook writers have learned to make these characteristics stand out with vivid distinctness. Greece and Rome, or even Sparta and Athens,

each stand for something definite in the minds of pupils. Medieval history, too, lends itself readily to a unity of treatment which makes for simplicity. It is with the advent of the modern era that difficulties multiply. Each of the modern nations has its own line of development. The story is badly crowded with figures and lacks unity. This not only lays a severe tax upon the memory; it serves also to make the characteristic features of each nation indistinct, as people in a crowd seem to lack individuality. Even the teacher, reading into the story the background of life and color gained from wider reading and travel, often fails to realize how bare and meager and characterless is the school-book account. The peoples of the world make little more appeal than do a swarm of ants.

The study of one nation at a time gives much more promise of success. The story has unity and is easily followed. The demands upon the memory are reasonable, leaving opportunity for the play of other faculties. By fixing the attention for an appreciable length of time upon one nation, pupils get a sense of personal acquaintance with its people. They form a habit of looking at events from another point of view. They see life from a little different angle from that to which they are accustomed. Gradually their conceptions cease to be bounded by their own immediate horizon.

The general aim of the "Study of Nations" calls

for less historical material than is ordinarily required for a course in Modern European History. Since much time is given to the study of present-day conditions, the study of the past is necessarily abbreviated.

To teachers who regard history as purely an informational subject; to those who would have children "study history in order to know history," this may be regarded as a loss. Questions will be raised especially in case pupils have the college entrance examinations in prospect. Since the object is not so much to teach history as to teach how to use it, the results may not be readily tested by examination. They should, however, react favorably on history work in college classes. For the pupil who is not going to college the brief outline given as foundation for further study has been deemed sufficient.

Moreover, it is an open question whether, even as a means of storing up information, the so-called "problem method" here adopted may not prove quite as effective as the pursuit of information purely for the information's sake. Even so conservative a publication as the *Report of the Committee of Seven* published in a footnote the remark: "We may justly contend that an effort to store facts in pupils' heads often defeats its own ends. College professors who have looked over examination papers for many years . . . are struck by the marvelous accumulation of misinformation which has been accepted and held with

calm belief and placid assurance. We may seriously inquire whether instruction in method of looking at facts and training in thinking about them would not leave a greater residuum of actual information." This "instruction in method of looking at facts and training in thinking about them" is exactly the aim of the teacher in the "Study of Nations." Observation of the progress of pupils has led to the conclusion that facts studied because they are wanted are more easily acquired and more readily retained in the memory than facts which are consciously stored away for future use.

While some teachers are critical of the "Study of Nations" because it offers too little historical information, others, with perhaps more reason, feel that the course covers too much territory; that too many ideas are introduced. This is, indeed, a very real danger. The experience of future years will perhaps point to the wisdom of limiting the borders of the work in the interest of greater thoroughness. According to Charles Dudley Warner, no gardener should trust himself to thin his own turnips; the same principle applies to the maker of a historical outline. Each topic in turn seems so valuable that the process of elimination is slow and painful. The tendency is to leave too much and spoil the crop. At this point a candid critic may be very helpful.

The proposed course of study must not demand too much, either of pupil or teacher. It must be

reasonably adaptable to the conditions of high-school teaching in the average community. Some of the most insistent questions that arise, whenever the "Study of Nations" is under discussion, refer not to the intrinsic value of the course nor to the richness of its promise, but to the difficulties confronting the teacher in the ordinary school. In many cases lack of material seems likely to hamper effective teaching. Modern history is not in this respect like Community Civics which is studied in the midst of its own laboratory — the community itself. It goes far afield. Books, maps, papers, and magazines must be at hand in generous supply. This condition is no more compulsory in the "Study of Nations," however, than in any course in history. Most school officials are now accustomed to the idea that the textbook alone is not suitable provision for the work. The school library movement is spreading rapidly. The Committee on Public Information, too, is proving a valuable ally. Many of its publications are of the highest usefulness. With all this aid it would seem that meagerness of equipment ought not long to prove an insurmountable barrier.

Even more than lack of material, lack of time and of strength are deterrent factors to many teachers. It must be confessed that the "Study of Nations" demands of the instructor hard, unremitting study, not only in laying out the work, but in carrying it on from day to day. The lesson is never learned. One

may never close the book with a clear conscience. The work must be kept "up to the minute." Wide reading from a great variety of sources is a constant necessity. Any critical scholarship of which the teacher is possessed is called upon to the very last iota. Yet such work is a healthy form of exercise. Much of the reading is of the kind which an intelligent person would wish to do if no professional necessity impelled. Even with this allowance, the fact remains that the teacher who is to undertake the course must have adequate time for it. The necessity for teaching every period in the day and correcting papers all the evening would preclude all possibility of success. Nor, indeed, can any other course in history be well taught under like conditions. The requirements for the "Study of Nations" merely emphasize the universal need of the teacher, namely, the chance to grow.

The real test of the success of any educational experiment, however, is not its effect on the critics nor its effect on the teacher, but its effect on the pupils. The teacher who is conducting the course is exactly in the position of the boy who said he was taking the "Study of Nations" in order "to find out what history is and what it does to the mind." Of course only the observation of many years can entitle one to tell what any course of study "does to the mind." After only three years' trial one hesitates to express any opinion on the subject. Yet one may be permitted

to record the results of observation, if it is clearly understood that no final conclusion is offered.

One result of the method in the classroom is to lessen the domination of the textbook. Although pupils are provided with a text in European history which at certain periods of the work is in constant use, for the most part they are obliged to go hunting in larger fields. The *Statesman's Year Book*, the library, the magazines, and daily papers are the recognized tools. There is no occasion here to discuss the relative merits of the textbook and the library methods. Most teachers have already decided opinions on the subject. The character of these opinions will largely color their judgment of a course which is so constituted that reliance on a single book is impossible.

With the passing of the textbook, the old-fashioned form of recitation also tends to disappear. One object of the teacher is to arouse the class from the passive attitude induced by years of public-school training to a measure of activity and initiative. It is desired that more questions be asked by the pupils than by the teacher. There is little chance for formal recitations. With some classes this ideal cannot be realized, but many pupils by their comments indicate that they value this opportunity for self-expression. "I like better discussion in class than just reciting out of a book," wrote one. "It gives a chance to use your brains and not take things just because the book said so." Another noted the fact

that "in class we have taken up both sides which convinces a person quicker than having to take it because somebody says it is true." Another said she liked class discussion best because she was not obliged to keep wondering what question was coming next. A few children intimated that they would feel safer about their ranks at the end of the term if they had a single book and could learn it, but the majority favored more general class discussion. It may be said with safety, it appears, that the method of the "Study of Nations" tends to encourage self-activity.

This very tendency to free discussion, however, has proved to have its dangers. Experience has shown that the teacher must be constantly on guard to keep the discussion from wandering in the clouds. Unless the class is held rigidly to facts and to the subject in hand, outlines become hazy and the sequence of events confused, so that the whole work lacks form and substance. This is the age of free verse, but the time is not yet come for free history. Even free discussion must be carefully regulated. Constant reference must be made to topical outlines, maps, and comparative tables, and every possible device must be employed to avoid loose thinking.

We have not yet discovered what the "Study of Nations" "does to the mind," nor how it contributes toward the development of a social conscience which will include in its scope all races and peoples. No measurements exist for testing these values. At the

end of the course, however, pupils have been put to the question. They have been asked to say frankly whether as a result of the year's work they found themselves more broad-minded, more sympathetic toward people of alien race and customs. Their answers may be regarded as straws showing the direction of the wind. The answers of one division were typical of all.[1]

Many of them simply said: "Yes!" or "Yes, I think so." One said: "If not broad-minded, at least awakened." Another, taking the question more personally, wrote: "I have unconsciously formed the habit of thinking out problems that come up from the relationship of the nations, and not taking sides or becoming over-sure of myself. I think I can appreciate correction or criticism on any subject with a better grace than I could before I took the course." The next one said: "I am learning to be more tolerant, but it comes hard." Another: "I think perhaps I am more broad-minded, for by studying about the customs, government, and sentiments of different nations, some of the petty prejudices I held toward them have disappeared."

Several pupils went into more detail and explained just where their prejudices and misconceptions had weakened. "The principal benefit I have gained," said one, "is the appreciation and value of some of

[1] These paragraphs are reprinted from the *History Teachers' Magasine*, October, 1917, p. 267.

the Europeans. Most pupils, like myself, thought Italy a land of bricklayers, Russia one of anarchists, etc. Now, Italy an important factor in the development of a country, Russia, progressive in quite a few ways. In general I have learned that most countries in a general way are similar." Another one wrote: "I am in greater sympathy with the Russian people than before. I always had the idea that they were just a slovenly, ignorant race. However, I realize now that it is all due to the oppression of the ruling forces. For the Germans, I look upon them with a broader view. For instance, I did not know much about the Germans. Since studying history I have seen things from a different point of view. I always thought them an easy-going, intellectual race of people; in fact, admired the race in general. Now I know for a fact that they are a well-educated, well-cared-for people. Of course, in the present war I naturally would feel a hatred for Germany, which I do. For now that I understand the good training of the German people, I cannot understand many of their seemingly barbaric actions." Yet another testimony is: "Of course I have no love for Germany, but in the study of her country I found many things in which I admire German efficiency. . . . Also some of the Balkan States, I have great pity for them. I never had much liking for a Greek, but since I have learned about their bravery and courage I like them quite well."

Others have reached the point where they are ready to generalize a little, as this one: "I do look upon people with different customs with more tolerance and sympathy, because I found that their customs were to them just the same as ours are to us, and many of their customs are better too. I found that they have their points of view the same as anybody else." As another one put it: "We are all foreigners to some one." They were all approaching the feeling expressed in broken English by an Armenian boy: "I don't look upon people of difference customs. I look upon people same as I look upon my brother." The Armenian made a mental reservation against the Turk, for when he was asked to tell what he knew of the Turks to-day, he replied: "They don't like us, so of course we don't like them. I can't talk of them." We hope the little girl of German parentage had no mental reservations when she wrote: "The world is my country. All are my brothers."

From these naïve confessions one gains a hint of the part which the ideal course in the "Study of Nations" may play in the great work of Americanization. To the foreign-born it may bring some appreciation of the richness of their racial heritage. Young people of foreign ancestry, the social workers tell us, are often in grave danger because of the sharp break between their life and that of their fathers. In the flush of their new Americanism they are inclined to throw off all parental restraint — to their great loss.

If the gap between the generations could be bridged by mutual understanding many tragedies might be avoided. This is one mission of the "Study of Nations" — to put the young people in touch with their historic traditions.

For the native-born the "Study of Nations" may likewise work for Americanization. It may serve to enlarge their conceptions of Americanism. For American democracy should have no place for petty provincial notions. It is not, like the Athenian democracy, confined to those of native birth and ancestry. It includes many races and divers tongues. *Demos* was indeed narrow and exclusive, but American citizenship must be conceived of as broad and many-sided, including all the racial elements of its mixed population. To this end a common knowledge of these races is essential.

Lastly, both the foreign-born and the native American need just now to reflect on the value which the idea of nationality has had for human history. Even a brief survey of the rich gifts which the nations have made to the treasury of modern civilization may serve to give needed emphasis to the worth of the modern democratic nation, both as an organization and as an ideal.

In comparison with some recent educational experiments the method of the "Study of Nations" is sufficiently conservative. It acknowledges the value of chronology and historical perspective. It aims to

present an organized body of material, logically arranged and topically outlined. It insists upon a basic mastery of historical fact. The individualist aims of the older historical training are its aims as well. More than knowledge, however, it values the state of mind that grows out of it. More than on arbitrary discipline it counts for results upon the active interest and coöperative effort of the pupil. With the individual conscience it would develop the social conscience. As an element of national patriotism, it would inculcate a broad spirit of international sympathy and understanding.

II

EUROPEAN NATIONS

1. FRANCE

THE subject for the opening lessons in the "Study of Nations" is a matter for careful choice. The first nation to be studied must fulfill the most exacting requirements. Its appeal to the interest of the class must be potent and alluring. It must offer varied avenues of approach to meet the differing interests of pupils. The people presented for the initial study must be of the first importance historically. The nation's story must be founded on the great movements of the world's history; otherwise the student will be following only a by-path when he should be moving with the great currents of life. The first nation must start him on his way, alert and eager. It must also provide for the larger interests which are to come with the wider outlook.

Of all European nations the Republic of France appears best fitted to meet these demands. France makes a peculiar appeal to the youthful imagination. The writer well remembers in her own case one night of wakeful rapture before the day when she was to begin the study of French. She seemed to herself on

the very threshold of romance, about to enter by that one step into a larger and more glorious world than that of prosaic every day. If by beginning with the French nation something of this glamour can be cast over the "Study of Nations," the choice will be justified.

Just now popular enthusiasm for France is unbounded. "The Marseillaise" is almost as familiar as "The Star-Spangled Banner." The Tricolor waves with the Stars and Stripes. In the high schools large classes are attracted by courses in the French language. Most pupils have recently had brothers or friends "somewhere in France." It is the land of their dreams. Any reference to it excites lively curiosity. No better field for an opening need be desired.

The choice of France offers the further advantage that its history has been pleasantly connected with our own. In the lower schools children have learned to look at Lafayette as a familiar acquaintance. They have been taught to value the aid given by French arms to the Americans in their struggle for liberty. They are ready to approach in a friendly spirit the study of their benefactors. The further value of French history as a preparation for the study of other nations is obvious. All the great movements of the successive centuries are here exemplified. Feudalism, chivalry, absolute monarchy, revolution — each in turn was carried to its logical development in France. The student who is well grounded in French

history has laid the foundation for a mastery of the history of all Europe.

As a guide to the truly significant qualities in French life and character, George Meredith's "Ode to France, 1870," has been invaluable. There are those, indeed, who hold that poetical literature should have no place in historical instruction. In this case, however, the poet has been able to bring out the inner meaning of events better than all the historians. To the teacher he has been a constant source of illumination and guidance. For the use of pupils short extracts from the "Ode" have even been included in the topical outline to give the key-note for class discussion.

On the first day the attack may be made at any well-chosen point. Since the material side of civilization is easiest to grasp, the Somerville classes have generally begun by making a list of all examples of French workmanship that they have seen. French styles generally head the list as the first suggestion, but before the hour is over a very respectable start has been made toward a comprehensive view of the gifts of France to the material civilization of the world. Already the pupils get a hint of the peculiar artistry and skill by which French workmen have made of crude materials things of wonder and delight. The reason is clear why George Meredith calls France "Mother of luxuries," and "Transcendent in her arts and looms." To American children this study of a

people whose chief industrial asset is their artistic skill cannot fail to be fruitful.

This beginning is followed by the assignment of special topics on French handicrafts. The pupil who suggested French styles as a topic is referred to the account of the founder of the House of Paquin in Charles Dawbarn's *Makers of New France.* So it has happened that a little girl dressed in a straight serge slip, with her hair tightly braided in pig-tails, has electrified the school librarian by asking where she could find the book about the Paris dressmaker, "Madame Pack-you-in." She found the book, and it is hoped, gained from it some appreciation of the mingling of business shrewdness and artistic skill which have made of the *Rue de la Paix* one of the wonders of the world. Meantime the boy whose eyes have been fixed wistfully on the aviation schools turns his attention to the work of Blériot. Girls with a taste for "fancy work" make a study of French tapestry or laces. The fine pottery or the exquisite work of the French jewelers furnishes topics for others. In every case the personal taste or interest of the student determines the choice of subject.

After these special topics have been prepared in the library, the class in a body visits the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Here the Museum Instructor[1] has made a special study of the needs of this course. At all times one of the best friends of the teacher, in

[1] Mrs. Robert L. Scales.

connection with this study of France she has drawn upon the resources of the Museum with surpassing skill. In the course of an hour under her guidance pupils get a truer impression of the nature of the French genius than from hours of library reading. Painting, sculpture, architecture, and handicrafts, all are used to show the national characteristics. Even the life of the peasant is revealed on the canvases of Millet. The class is held breathless and fascinated. One is not surprised to hear a girl say as she leaves the building: "I know I shall not like any other nation as well as France."

Meantime the lesson hours had been devoted to other phases of the national development. After a brief survey of the land of France, the "bountiful fair land of vine and grain," with such map work and descriptive material as time allowed, it seemed opportune to inquire into the origins of the French nation. This gave a chance to make connection with the work of the previous year. The question naturally arose, "How has it come about that we have a distinct nation called France?" A rapid textbook review gave an answer to this question. The story began with the break-up of Charlemagne's empire and the treaties of Verdun and Mersen. The Strasbourg oaths, by the way, bore witness to the gradual development of the distinctive French language. This review might be extended through the story of French political development. In practice it has been made very

brief. The connection with previous work has been secured chiefly through the study of some of the great characters in French history who have conspicuously contributed to the making of the French historic tradition.

This task, involving the attempt to create in pupils a sense of historic tradition, is indeed difficult. It would be useless to attack it by means of statement or definition. We are dealing with influences too subtle for mere dictionary usage. They must be felt rather than defined. Yet some effort must be made to convey at least a dim idea of the difference between the French spirit and that of America. With more advanced students it might be done through the medium of literature. In the secondary school there is no time for such work, nor are the pupils sufficiently mature. The "openness of mind and flexibility of intelligence," which were to Matthew Arnold the characteristics of the French literary genius, could neither be recognized nor appreciated by high-school students. But boys and girls are natural hero worshipers. They can understand the influence of great characters in the making of nations. Through the study of the national leaders in successive generations they can gain indirectly some comprehension of the national character. It seems worth while, therefore, in spite of difficulties, to make an effort to build up a conception of the traditions which are the legacy of the present generation of Frenchmen.

For this purpose probably no two teachers would make the same choice of subjects. In the accompanying outline Roland stands first on the list. Selections may be made from any of the numerous translations of the *Chanson de Roland.* Sometimes it happens that pupils are already familiar with the story. It is easy to see how this old "epic of death for fair France" contributes to patriotic enthusiasm. Ambassador Jusserand comments on the character of Roland as descriptive of the French character to-day in the willingness of the men to die not only for victory, but, if necessary, for honor in defeat. Two striking characteristics of the days of chivalry stand out sharply in this story of Roland — loyalty to one's suzerain and love of one's sword. Studied in connection with the story of Chevalier Bayard, "knight without fear and without reproach," the *Song of Roland* shows at its best the European inheritance from the days of chivalry.

Another figure which stands out sharply in the historic background is that of Louis IX, "the king who ruled in righteousness." The chroniclers make him a hero to be affectionately remembered, whether administering justice to his people through the organized forms of law or sitting in patriarchal fashion under the oaks of Vincennes. Sometimes the class, with the aid of pictures, makes an imaginary pilgrimage to the *Isle de Cité,* visits the modern *Palais de Justice* which takes the place of his royal court, or

stands with him in worship beneath the glowing windows of *La Sainte Chapelle.*

Next in order comes Joan the Maid, whose saintly heroism is so familiar that its influence is easily traced. Her story seems to gain in popularity with each succeeding century. Now, as the subject of a popular song, she needs no introduction to youthful students.

With the advent of Henry IV the development of royalty of a modern type becomes apparent. Gallantry in war, tolerance in matters of religion, a care for public improvements, and solicitude as to the working-man's Sunday dinner belong to kingship of a more familiar order than the shadowy saintliness of Louis IX. It paves the way for the study of Cardinal Richelieu, in whose work the idea of absolute kingly powere merges in clear outline. He in turn prepares the mind for the royal magnificence of Louis XIV.

The age of the *Grand Monarque* helps to illustrate and explain many traits of the French people to-day. The punctilious courtesy of French society, its sensitiveness to all that is gracious and charming in social intercourse shows the influence of the old courtly etiquette. The French Academy still exists as a symbol of the national reverence for the French language as an instrument of fine art. Under Louis XIV that logical and orderly habit of mind which marks the people of contemporary France carried law and order to the limit of absolutism, as it had

previously carried feudalism to its most complete development.

This group of leaders, it is believed, fairly typifies various sides of French character. The exact measure of their influence may not be traced by the most capable student, but the general tendency of their lives can be felt by the dullest. A study of their careers, it would seem, should contribute to a fuller understanding of the French people.

Politically, France stands to-day for democracy. She has been the ally of the United States as a sister republic, warring against the powers of absolutism. Her significance in modern history lies in her service as the missionary to Europe of the doctrine of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité.* To pupils whose previous study of Europe terminated with the year 1700, this situation requires some explanation. It marks a startling break with the traditions of the French monarchy. They want to know how it happens that the people who, at the time of the American Revolution represented the most autocratic government in Europe, have come to the position of leaders in the cause of liberty. For an answer to this question they are directed to the story of the gradual development in France of the democratic ideal. They trace the story of liberty through the writings of the French philosophers, the narratives of the American Revolution, and the fiery processes of the French Revolution.

To American children the French Revolution takes on peculiar interest as it reveals the close interdependence of French and American thought at this period. They note that the ideals for which the American patriots fought became in France the watchwords of a revolution that shook all Europe. At this point it has been found profitable to read extracts from the correspondence of Frenchmen who came to the aid of America and mark the characteristics of American society which seemed to them novel or impressive. The journals and letters of Lafayette, Rochambeau, and many others abound with illustrative material. Most illuminating are the raptures of Count Ségur and his friends over the "veritable political Eldorado" which they found in America, or the delight of Lafayette in the "simplicity of manners, kindness, love of country and of liberty, and the delightful equality that everywhere prevail." Their comments bring home to the reader the glaring contrasts between the life of our Revolutionary ancestors and the manners to which our French allies were accustomed. They throw brilliant side lights on the characteristics of French society under the Old Régime. They also serve to throw into relief the blessings of freedom — blessings which the children of a republic are wont to take too much for granted.

The time given to the details of the French Revolution must be determined by circumstances. To

emphasize the central idea which gives meaning to the excesses and confusions that marked the course of the conflict the words of George Meredith have been taken as a text. He characterizes the France of that day as

> "O she that made the brave appeal
> For manhood when our time was dark,
> And from our fetters drove the spark
> Which was as lightning to reveal
> New seasons with the swifter play
> Of pulses, and benigner day."

The whole story of the Revolution was studied as a commentary on this poetic image. As symbols of this leadership of France over the forces of democracy, pupils noted with interest the adoption of the Tricolor, now recognized as the standard of liberty, and the choice of "The Marseillaise" as the French marching song of freedom. Even the Great War is seen to be a sequel to the democratic movement inaugurated in Europe by the French Revolution.

The career of Napoleon is studied chiefly to explain the meaning of the term "the Napoleonic ideal" and to measure its significance. The brief account of Napoleon given in any good textbook offers sufficient material for discussion. The permanent results are emphasized more than the details of campaigns. Due credit is given for the good done by Napoleon in securing for future generations certain revolutionary reforms, like the abolition of privilege, the centraliz-

ing of government and the revision of law. At the same time the deeper moral consequences of his system, the exaggerated pride in military glory, the extreme self-confidence, the restlessness under the monotony of peaceful living, which hurried France to the disaster of 1870, are seen to date back to the abnormal conditions of life imposed by the great conqueror. Just now, too, many interesting parallels can be drawn between the causes and conduct of the two great wars, that of Napoleon and that of our own day.

The years between Waterloo and 1870 were passed over lightly. In a brief study the rise and fall of successive governments has little significance except for the educational value of these changes to a people learning how to govern themselves. One fact stands out in high relief as well worth attention, namely, that the will to self-government is not sufficient for any people, unless it is supplemented by the lessons of experience.

With the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War the obvious connection of passing events with the present crisis calls for fuller treatment. The causes of that war, the spirit of the contending parties, and the reason for the outcome of the struggle all require careful attention. In this connection the Alsace-Lorraine question excites lively comment and discussion.

The striking contrast between French character as exhibited under the Second Empire and as revealed

by the present war leads to a study of the Third Republic as a school of moral development. Again the words of George Meredith furnish the text:

> "Lo, Strength is of the plain root-Virtues born:
> Strength shall ye gain by service, prove in scorn,
> Train by endurance, by devotion shape.
> Strength is not won by miracle or rape.
> It is the offspring of the modest years."

Earlier in the course the class tried to discern the qualities which the French people had received as an inheritance from the day of chivalry. Now they searched for the fruits of bitterness and defeat. They found, first, moral strength, "the offspring of the modest years"; then, frugality, which made possible the prompt payment of the German war indemnity; a national devotion to work almost as a fine art; an educational system which trained to thoroughness; and at last the steadfastness which has successfully withstood the second German onset.

In the history of recent years little attention has been paid to the rise and fall of ministries or the shifting of parties. The chief emphasis is placed on the French system of republican government. Incidentally the separation of Church and State, and the development of the French colonial empire has received some attention. The main point to be brought out, however, is the democratic character of the French government. Its peculiar characteristics are contrasted with the features of the American

system. Differences are noted with a view to bringing out the fact that government may be essentially democratic even though under varied forms.

The conception of France here presented is sufficiently complex, yet it is far from complete. Much of the noblest French thought is beyond the comprehension of the high-school pupil. Some characteristics of French society had best be left to the consideration of later years. The pupil must understand that he is not yet ready to pronounce a final opinion. He must cultivate an open mind. His present impression must be constantly corrected or expanded as a result of wider reading and fuller experience.

FRANCE

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Keynote: *France*, 1870. George Meredith.

A. The Land of France.

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Boundaries.
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Important centers of industry.

II. Products of France.
France, "Bountiful fair land of vine and grain."

B. Industries of France.
France, "Mother of luxuries."
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The breaking of Charlemagne's Empire.
The treaties of Verdun and Mersen.
Development of the French nation under the Capetians.

II. The origins of the French language.
The Strasbourg oaths.

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E. The Influence of the Great Figures of the Past on the French Historic Tradition.

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Reference:
Chanson de Roland, translated by John O'Hagan.

II. Louis IX.
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III. Joan of Arc.

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Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 228–36.
Kitchin, *History of France*, vol. I, pp. 536–53.
Lowell, *Joan of Arc*.

IV. Chevalier Bayard.

References:

Guizot, *History of France*, vol. II, pp. 417, 424–25, 455–59, vol. III, pp. 11, 57.
Robinson, *Readings in European History*, vol. II, pp. 15–23.

V. Henry of Navarre.

References:

Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, pp. 177–88.
Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 372–84.
Hassall, *The French People*, pp. 151–58.
Montgomery, *Leading Facts of French History*, pp. 166–69.
Wakeman, *Europe, 1598–1715*, pp. 14–30.

VI. Cardinal Richelieu.

References:

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VII. Louis XIV.

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Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 460–67, 478–79.

Hassall, *The French People*, pp. 170–85.

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Whitcomb, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 105–11.

F. France the Missionary to Europe of the Doctrine of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité.*

"O she that made the brave appeal
For manhood when our time was dark,
And from our fetters drove the spark
Which was a lightning to reveal
New seasons with the swifter play
Of pulses, and benigner day."

I. Work of eighteenth-century writers in educating French thinkers to ideals of liberty and equality.
Voltaire, Rousseau.

II. Influence of the American Revolution.
The Americans examples of men living under conditions marked by liberty and equality.

III. The Revolution in France.
Causes.
Evils of the Old Régime.
Important points in the struggle.
Declaration of the Rights of Man.
Successive experiments in self-government.
The Tricolor and the "Marseillaise" as symbols of the new France.

IV. Spread of the revolutionary idea throughout Europe.
War with the old monarchies.
The revolutionary spirit as a military force.

References:

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Davis, *History of Medieval and Modern Europe*, pp. 378–418.

Hassall, *The French People*, pp. 212–30.

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Robinson, *Readings in European History*, vol. II, pp. 360–460.
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Sheldon, *Studies in General History*, pp. 466–73.
Thatcher and Schwill, *General History of Europe*, pp. 469–97.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 426–78.
Whitcomb, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 135–58.

G. The Napoleonic Tradition.

"Ah what a dawn of splendour, when her sowers
Went forth and bent the necks of populations,
And of their terrors and humiliations
Wove her the starry wreath that earthward lowers
Now in the figure of a burning yoke!" etc.

I. Textbook of the career of Napoleon I.
Special topics for discussion.
The Character of Napoleon I.
Evils of the Napoleonic ideal.
Comparison of economic and military conditions during the Napoleonic Wars and during the Great War.

II. Rapid review of period of reconstruction and experiment.

III. France under the Third Napoleon.
Characteristics of French society under the Second Empire.
The Franco-Prussian War.
Causes, Events, Results.

Special Topic for Discussion: What is the Napoleonic Tradition and what has been the character of its influence?

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Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 183–247, 351–58.
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Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. I, pp. 309–71.
Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, pp. 170–85, 258–60.
Thatcher and Schwill, *General History of Europe*, pp. 497–518, 546–58.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 480–505, 559–65, 588–90, 636–37.
Whitcomb, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 159–74, 178–79.

H. The Lesson of 1870 by which France is profiting to-day.

"Lo, Strength is of the plain root-Virtues born:
Strength shall ye gain by service, prove in scorn,
Train by endurance, by devotion shape.
Strength is not won by miracle or rape.
It is the offspring of the modest years."

Frugality and economy as French characteristics.
Prompt payment of the German indemnity.
Devotion to work as a fine art.
Thoroughness of education.

References:
Sergeant, *French Perspectives*, pp. 94–110.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 649–51.

I. The French Government of to-day.
Circumstances under which it was formed.
Peculiar characteristics.
Comparison with the Government of the United States.

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Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 65–80.
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Stoddard and Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, pp. 23–37, 357–58.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 640–49.

J. Colonies and Dependencies of France.
Map work.
Discussion of the value of the French colonial possessions.
References:
Coolidge, *Origins of the Triple Alliance*, pp. 191–208.
Dawbarn, *France and the French*, pp. 187–204, 207.
Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 229–39, 415–16.
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West, *The Modern World*, pp. 651–53.

K. Recent Changes in the French Republic.
Separation of Church and State.
Increasing influence of Socialists and Syndicalists.
Economic and social experiments.
Foundation of Ministry of Labour.
Legislation in favor of the laboring man.
Pension and insurance systems.

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2. ENGLAND

"FRANCE was fascinating, of course, but England is more like coming home somehow. It is more like our way of thinking." In these words pupils have indicated one point of vantage enjoyed by the teacher of English history. The territory is familiar. There is no language barrier. The habit of thought is that to which both teacher and pupils have been bred. For even those Americans who own no drop of English

blood are so far Anglicized in thought that England is the homeland to them almost as truly as to lineal descendants of Mayflower passengers. Interpreters between England and America are not required.

It is well that England offers this vantage-ground to the teacher. The English system of government is so full of anomalies and contradictions that the task of instruction is difficult enough at best. Answers to the simplest questions must be modified and qualified beyond all hope of clearness. What is the government of England? Is it a monarchy? Is it a democracy? Are we dealing with a kingdom, or a federation of states, or an empire? What is the unit of nationality? Is it England? Is it Great Britain? Is it the British Empire? These are fundamental questions, but it is a wise teacher who can answer them.

Out of this maze of complications two general topics have been selected as main lines of study — England as the mother of liberties, and England as the mother of colonies. One of these subjects deals chiefly with the growth of the English constitution; the other includes the great commercial and imperial interests of the British Empire. These, with some discussion of modern social and industrial problems, are all that is attempted in the study of the British nation. The resultant concept is fragmentary, indeed, but as far as it goes it is clear and logical.

Since the greatest gift of England to the world has been the development of English liberties, the first

lesson is devoted to the question — What are the fundamental liberties of Englishmen? A discussion of the privileges of citizenship in the United States is followed by a comparison of these free conditions enjoyed by the English and American with the restrictions imposed upon a French citizen under the Old Régime or upon a Russian under the Czars. Gradually, by this process of contrast, the class comes to the conclusion that the absolute essentials of liberty are four in number — liberty of person, free control of property, equal justice before the law, and a popular share in the government. Around these four topics is centered the study of English history from 1215 to 1911.

After the definition of English liberties, the next task is to trace their development through the centuries. The great documents which have helped to define and secure these liberties for successive generations are the landmarks to be followed.

First, *Magna Carta*, "the Bible of the English constitution," is subjected to careful scrutiny. Its history and provisions are studied that the pupil may discover how it dealt with the four essential liberties above mentioned. The difference between a constitution which is the fundamental law of the land and a charter which is merely a treaty between king and people is carefully pointed out. Special effort is made, however, not to obscure the issue by introducing too much collateral detail. The main object of the study

is kept constantly before the mind — to find just what contribution was made by the barons at Runnymede toward the definition and the security of English liberties.

The same method is applied in turn to the Confirmation of the Charter, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights. When, as in the case of the Puritan Revolution, these principles of liberty have been put to the test of civil war, the contest is studied rather to get its bearing on the point at issue than for its interest as a narrative. The object in the mind of the teacher is to bring pupils to the conclusion that liberty does not grow of itself; that it cannot be preserved without effort. Its value to humanity is to be measured by its cost in struggle.

Under the general heading, "struggle for Government by the People," the topics are divided into three groups corresponding to the three great stages in the development of popular sovereignty.

The first deals with the period of intermittent effort for a share in the government by the people. It begins with the provisions in *Magna Carta* for the Great Council of the Baronage and extends to the time when Sir John Eliot and Wentworth parted company in the effort to define the proper limits of parliamentary control.

The second group of topics is concerned with the effort to establish definitely the principle of parliamentary control of the government. This period

ends with the great parliamentary victory of the Bill of Rights and the Act of Succession.

The third group deals with the establishment of popular control over the government. This includes the constitutional reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The extension of the franchise, the evolution of a responsible ministry, the limitation of the power of the House of Lords, and the final extension of the franchise to women, all come under this head.

The full purpose, however, in the work on constitutional development, which is to cultivate in each pupil an appreciation for the value and significance of his Anglo-Saxon heritage, can be most easily achieved by laying stress upon the human sacrifice involved. Men like Sir John Eliot or Hampden or Pym, each sacrificing his own interest for what he believed to be the public good, have valuable lessons for the rising generation. The long line of Englishmen who have given their lives to the public service in the cause of liberty should be the boy's familiar acquaintances. To this end short biographical studies have been introduced in connection with the constitutional study. The choice of subjects is determined by the character of the available reading material. If the proper equipment is at hand, the "Study of Nations" by this means will retain something of the warmth of human interest which tends to disappear in dealing with large groups like nations.

This somewhat extended study of the development of constitutional liberty in England has proved of value, besides, as a means of breaking down old prejudices. Curiously enough, much of the old revolutionary antagonism toward England as a tyrant still persists. One is inclined to agree with Mr. Altschul's conclusion, in his recent study of the American Revolution in American history textbooks,[1] that this feeling is largely due to the partisan, anti-English treatment of the subject in the school-books. This feeling has shown itself in the minds of students beginning the "Study of Nations." Once, during the first lesson on England, when it was suggested that English liberties were the great gift of England to the world, voices rose in dissent: "Liberties! Not until we fought for them!" The pupils were prepared to fight the battles of the Revolution over again, then and there. They were induced, however, to reserve judgment until they had studied the matter more at length. In due time the constitutional questions involved in the American Revolution came up for discussion, but no direct reference was made to the question of England's tyranny. At last, when the work on English liberties was completed, the girl who had been most outspoken in condemnation of England rose to her feet, and of her own accord made a very pretty apology for the class. She said, in substance:

[1] Altschul, Charles: *The American Revolution in Our School Textbooks*. George H. Doran Company. New York, 1917.

"When we spoke against England at first, we did not understand the situation. We had the impression from grammar-school study that England was just a tyrant. Now we see that the American Revolution was just one step in the development of English liberties. We should not speak of England in that way another time." She had learned her personal debt to the British constitution, if nothing more.

A measure of economic liberty as well as political liberty is England's gift to her people to-day. The fight for freedom in trade goes along with the struggle for the right to vote. Cobden and Bright belong with Hampden and Pym as champions of liberty. The campaign for the repeal of the Corn Laws and the later extension of free-trade principles to all foreign commerce form the subject of a separate group of topics. They give a good opportunity for a little discussion of the relative merits of free trade and protection, which is calculated to bring out the peculiar economic situation of England.

For an understanding of the present industrial situation, the students must hark back to the Industrial Revolution. Familiar already from earlier study with the domestic system of industry, they follow with interest the story of the successive inventions which led to the present factory system. Children to-day are better equipped than in former years to understand the sudden transformation resulting from the Industrial Revolution, since they have personally

observed and perhaps experienced the effects of a similar reorganization of industry for war purposes. Many community problems, like the housing problem or the question of transportation, are as acute to-day as when the factory system was new. This makes class discussion of these topics more vital than ever before.

After studying in brief the story of the Industrial Revolution, pupils may apply to the study of English conditions the methods of Community Civics. They may make out in class a list of the modern community problems which have clearly grown out of the Industrial Revolution. Each pupil may choose the topic in which he is especially interested and make a special report upon it, based on library reading and observation. The factory acts, the child labor laws, the housing problem, the development of transportation facilities, questions at issue between capital and labor, the rise of trades unions, all these topics will be found to be of vital importance in the local community as well as in the history of England. Pupils should be encouraged to get first-hand information about them by talking with relatives or friends who are in a position to speak with authority. England's method of dealing with these problems takes on new significance in the light of personal experience.

In like manner the social reforms in England in recent years may be studied as solutions for familiar problems. The "war on poverty" is found especially

interesting because it deals with a problem with which many of the pupils are all too familiar. Sometimes they can hardly wait to read to the end the story of the Lloyd George measures, so eager are they to know at once whether the experiment was successful so that poverty is really on the way to annihilation. In this connection, also, the principles and promises of socialism come up for brief discussion.

From the study of little England we pass to consideration of the British Empire. The widespread dominions of Great Britain, as they appear on the map, call from the class questions which serve as a guiding thread for the study of the narrative. Two leading questions indicate the line of study to be followed — How did England gain this empire? and, How does she keep it?

In answer to the first question any good topical outline of the expansion of the British Empire may be followed. The story of the English mariners of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with due regard to the spirit and motive of their explorations, is followed by the account of the great trading companies which in turn prepared the way for the world-struggle for commerce and empire. Professor Seeley's [1] view of eighteenth-century history as centered around the struggle for colonial supremacy is now so universally adopted that the teacher finds it easy to

[1] Seeley, J. R.: *Expansion of England.* Little, Brown & Company. Boston, 1883.

obtain suitable texts. In this connection, too, the classes have found it interesting to review once more the story of the English colonization of America, this time studying the colonies as business enterprises. The American Revolution, too, comes up for discussion again from the economic point of view. Once again the consideration of the colonies as a part of England gives a new aspect to the American Revolution. The expansion of England in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is studied with considerable care. This part of English history has taken on new importance with the outbreak of the Great War.

Less thrilling than this story of conquest and peaceful expansion is the answer to the second question suggested above: How has England kept her colonies? Yet the example of administrative skill which England has given to the world in the government of her outlying dominions is no small part of her service to humanity. The system of self-governing commonwealths and dependencies which make up the British Empire, with all its imperfections, is quite as worthy of careful study as the most dramatic deed of daring explorers.

The great failure in Ireland is no less illuminating, and nowhere else is an understanding of present conditions so dependent upon historical information. The bitterness of the Home Rule controversy is incomprehensible on the surface, but in the light of history the motives and passions of the conflict are

readily accounted for. The whole story of Ireland, from the conquest of Henry II down to our own day, is a great object lesson, moreover, to those who may themselves be called upon to deal with dependent states. Lastly, it may be used to show the possibility of dispassionate discussion on a subject already heated by controversy.

The final conclusion drawn by a pupil from the study of Ireland was this: "I have learned that many things the countries do now, can be explained by their past history, and that they could n't be expected to do much different in their view of the circumstances." This philosophic conclusion comes to most of us only after years of experience. If it can be attained thus early through the study of the past, the apologists for history in the schools can score a point in its favor.

ENGLAND

Topical Outline and Reading References

A. English Liberties the Great Gift of England to the World.

I. What are the fundamental English liberties?
Liberty of person.
Free control of property.
Equal justice before the law.
A share in the government by the people.

II. What have English liberties cost?
Landmarks in the struggle.
Magna Carta, 1215.
Confirmation of the Charter, 1297.

Petition of Right, 1628.
Puritan Revolution, 1640.
Bill of Rights, 1689.

III. Outline of struggle for liberty of person.
1. *Magna Carta.*
Its basis: Charter of Henry I.
Leader of the struggle: Stephen Langton.
Provision as to personal liberty.
"No man shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed, save by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."
2. Petition of Right.
Arbitrary imprisonment forbidden.
3. The Puritan Revolution partly caused by the attempted arrest of five members of the House of Commons by the King.
4. Habeas Corpus Act: security against delay of justice.

IV. Outline of struggle for free control of property.
1. Provisions of *Magna Carta.*
None but the customary feudal aids to be demanded by the King without the consent of the Great Council of the Baronage.
Means of livelihood to be left to the poorest.
2. Confirmation of the Charter by Edward I.
No taxation without the consent of the Council.
3. Control over taxation exercised by the Good Parliament.
4. Interruption of development under the Tudor sovereigns.
Queen Elizabeth's monopoly speech.
5. Parliamentary protest against benevolences under James I.

6. Petition of Right.
   Forced loans and benevolences forbidden by act of Parliament.
7. Matters in dispute put to the arbitrament of civil war.
8. Parliamentary control over taxation secured by the Bill of Rights.

V. Outline of struggle for government by the people.
   1. Period of struggle for a voice in the government by representatives of the people (1215–1640).
      a. Provision in *Magna Carta* for a Great Council.
      b. Parliament of Simon de Montfort.
      c. Model Parliament of Edward I.
         Two representatives from every shire.
         Two burgesses from every borough.
      d. Powers exercised by the Good Parliament.
         Control of taxation.
         Control of legislation.
         Control of the King's ministers.
      e. Position of Parliament under the Tudor sovereigns.
         Parliament subservient to the sovereign, but the power of public opinion still strong.
      f. Under James I.
         Royal proclamations declared by Parliament not to have the force of law.
   2. Period of struggle to establish the principle of Parliamentary control over the government (1620–1688).
      a. Contest with the Stuart sovereigns.
         Attitude of the King.

Claim to rule by divine right.
Attitude of Parliamentarians.
The right to rule a prerogative of representatives of the people.
Chief weapon of Parliament.
The power of the purse.
Important phases of the struggle.
Fight for freedom of speech in Parliament.
Case of Sir John Eliot.
Attempted arrest of the five members.
Fight for control of taxation.
Petition of Right.
Hampden and the Ship Money contest.
Fight for control of the King's ministers.
Attempted impeachment of Buckingham.
Trial and execution of Strafford.

b. Culmination of the struggle.
Civil war and execution of the King.
c. Successive experiments in reorganization.
Commonwealth.
Protectorate.
Recall of Charles II.
d. Final victory of Parliament in Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights.

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Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, pp. 179–87, 451–63, 545–50.
Hill, *Liberty Documents*, pp. 9–48, 66–77, 122–41.

Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, pp. 51–57, 68–71, 113–16.
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Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 144–47, 473–94, 523–25.
Robinson, *Readings in European History*, vol. I, pp. 231–41, vol. II, pp. 221–24, 261–63.
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Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 31–57.
Tuell and Hatch, *Selected Readings in English History*, pp. 83–89, 245–50, 310–24.

3. Struggle to establish democratic control of Parliament.
   a. Liberty of the press secured on the expiration of the Licensing Act.
   b. Gradual extension of the franchise.
      The Great Reform Bill, 1832.
      The Reform Bill of 1867.
      The Reform Bill of 1884.
      Extension of suffrage to women.
   c. Establishment of a ministry responsible to representatives of the people.
      The development of the Cabinet.
      The Cabinet of to-day.
         Its relation to the King.
         Its relation to the House of Commons.
         Changes made by the war.
   d. The revolution of 1911.
      Power of the purse secured to the House of Commons.
      Abolition of veto power of the House of Lords.

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Moran, *Theory and Practice of the English Government*, pp. 65–101, 119–51.

Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 196–275.

Robinson, *The Last Decade*, pp. i–vi, xvi–xvii.

Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 643–49.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 181–97.

Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 491–507.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. II, pp. 239–66.

Tuell and Hatch, *Selected Readings in English History*, pp. 379–92, 422–42, 459–66.

Wallace, *The Government of England*, pp. 42–56, 120–39.

West, *The Modern World*, pp. 606–15, 728–36.

B. Industrial and Social Changes in Modern England.

I. Adoption of free trade.

The fight for the repeal of the corn laws.

Adoption of free trade as a general policy.

II. The industrial revolution.
Changes from the domestic to the factory system.
Economic and social results of the factory system.

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  I. Map study.
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    Self-governing commonwealths.
    Dependencies.
  II. Comparison with the England of Shakespeare.
    "A jewel set in a silver sea," etc.
  III. Historical development of the British Empire.
    1. Period of exploration.
      England's part in the explorations of the fifteenth century.
      Work of John Cabot.
      The Merchant Adventurers.
      Spirit and motives of the mariners of the Elizabethan Age.
      Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh.
    2. The great trading companies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Muscovy Company, The Levant Company, Guinea Company, East India Company, London Company and Plymouth Company.
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Part played by the government in the work of the companies.
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3. The Eighteenth Century struggle for colonial supremacy.
   a. In North America.
      Landmarks: Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.
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      Struggle with the Mahratta Confederacy.
      Extension of territory to the border of China.
      Annexation in Burma.
      Conquest of the Sindh and Punjab regions.
      The Indian mutiny.
         Causes and results.
      Condition in 1914.
   b. Formation of the Dominion of Canada.
      Form of government.
      Industrial and social conditions.
      The problem of the two races.
   c. The Commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand.
      Form of government.
      Industrial and social conditions.
      Circumstances under which Austra-

lasia became a part of the British dominions.

d. The South African Commonwealth.
   Its government and connection with England.
   Steps by which South Africa became British territory.
   Acquisition of Cape Colony.
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   Reasons for the importance of Egypt to England.
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Cromwell's harsh treatment of Ireland.
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b. Reasons for differences between Ulster and the South of Ireland.
Circumstances under which Ulster was settled.
Ulster championship of William of Orange.
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c. Attempts to redress Ireland's wrongs.
Catholic emancipation.
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3. GERMANY

THE study of nations can never become stereotyped. It is secured against that form of anathema by the power of changing circumstance. Of this general statement Germany forms the most striking illustration. In the good days before the war, only a few short years ago, any characterization of the German nation would have laid emphasis on the wonderful material progress of Germany, on the might of her arma-

ments and the wealth of her industries. Much more, however, would have been said of the rich contributions that Germany had made to the treasures of the spirit, whether in the realm of music, or philosophy or religion. To-day — what shall we say of Germany? What can we say? Little more, alas, than was said by a writer in a recent periodical: "Germany with ruthless hand has shelled the careful structure of her past. Other peoples' cities she has destroyed, but her own traditions: surely she will build them again, but such ruins are slow rebuilding. The cathedral of her honor; the lighted dwelling-places of her quiet charm! *Auf Wiedersehn*, great German soul astray, *Auf Wiedersehn!*"[1] Not, as before, in appreciative mood, but rather in the spirit of renunciation we must write of Germany to-day.

Meantime what shall we teach of Germany? The answer, for the present, seems to be found in the patriotic needs growing out of the war time. The history teachers of America must act as the agents of their government in training the future citizens to understand and appreciate the values of democracy, even as the Prussian teachers have long since learned to make the teaching of history an instrument of imperial policies. In war or in peace the true meaning and significance of democracy must be made the central subject of instruction.

[1] Warner, Frances Lester: "Preserving the Past"; in *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1917, p. 640.

In the fulfillment of this purpose the topics on Germany in the "Study of Nations" have been grouped under the headings, Autocracy, Militarism and Material Efficiency.

For the study of German autocracy at the present day the pamphlet issued by the Committee on Public Information entitled *The Government of Germany*[1] is by far the best text. These sixteen pages outline clearly the form of the German imperial government and of the government of Prussia. They also explain how the various parts of these governments function in actual practice. Copies of the pamphlet placed in the school library are in constant request. "That is a good book," pupils say. "It is so clear; you can tell what he is driving at." This is high praise. Although the report was not issued primarily for the benefit of secondary schools, it has proved a great blessing to history teachers and deserves a high place among school textbooks. Because it is written for the common man, not for the scholar, it places the emphasis on elementary principles. To give the meaning, not alone the form of autocracy, is its object. To this central idea all forms are made subsidiary. This book might well have been made especially for use in a study of nations.

With autocracy as a working partner, goes militarism. For the most illuminating definition of this

[1] Hazen, Charles Downer: *The Government of Germany*. Washington, 1918.

system we turned to Mr. Dawson's *What is Wrong with Germany?* In discussing "The Inwardness of Militarism," he says: "The conception of militarism makes the army a direct instrument of State policy, and war a legitimate political purpose, instead of a terrible abnormality. In accordance with that idea the whole life of the nation is organized on a military plan. The home, the school, professional life, industrial and commercial relationships, the working of the State and public services — all are regulated from the standpoint of warlike possibilities, and subordinated to the one supreme consideration, how best to convert the nation into an efficient fighting machine. In order that this view of State purpose may be realized, the civilian's placid life is represented as something inferior to the career of the soldier, and a powerful administrative caste is set up, as a class apart from the rest of the nation, whose business it is to personify the military ideal and keep before the nation the view that war is a worthier pursuit than peace." [1] After this definition is copied by the pupils, each clause may be made the subject of class discussion.

The next step is a review of Prussian history to see what part autocracy and militarism has played in its development. A little study of the map shows that the militarists have much truth on their

[1] Dawson, William Harbutt: *What is Wrong with Germany?* p. 114. Longmans, Green & Company. New York, 1915.

side when they claim that the great gains of the Hohenzollern family in the past have come by war. The seizure of Silesia and the partition of Poland by the autocratic Frederick II first secured the recognition of Prussia among the Great Powers of Europe. Later the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck in the Schleswig-Holstein War, the Austro-Prussian War, and the Franco-Prussian War gave to the Hohenzollern rulers of Prussia the seat of authority in the German Empire. In the light of history it is easy for students to see how autocracy and militarism together might seem to the Germans necessary conditions of expansion and development.

When, after this historical excursion, the class turns again to Germany of the present day, the policies of William II take on new significance. The last German Emperor is seen to have acted in full accordance with the traditions of his house. By the use of the army his ancestors had made Prussia great. By the same weapon he purposed to carry on their work. Personally he appears to be even more truly a "war lord" than any former Hohenzollern. With his love of the army, the other characteristics noted in him by Mr. Dawson — "ancestor worship," "supreme self-confidence," and "belief in the divine right of kings" — all mark him as one destined to high ambitions. They go far to explain the part Prussia has played in recent history.

Before leaving the subject of militarism it seems

well to consider the effect of that system on the social and political life of the German people. Pupils learn from Mr. Dawson's book that in Germany it has worked against the establishment of a democratic society by creating a rigid distinction of rank that amounts almost to a caste system. Its political influence is summed up as follows: [1] "Militarism has been the enemy of political liberty in Prussia. Relying on its support kings have broken their promises of constitutional reforms, popular movements have been thwarted, and Prussia has retained its unenviable reputation as the most backward state in Germany in political matters." A brief discussion suffices to show that the militarist system cannot permanently exist in a democratic state.

To show the extremes of brutality to which militarism can be carried the Zabern incident is introduced as a case in point. Whatever ulterior purposes, official or military, may have been back of that incident, it seems safe to use it as an example of the length to which military audacity might go in the face of popular protest. As the story is told in *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule*, by Charles D. Hazen, or in many other recent books, it serves as a warning against the evils of autocratic government backed by the militarist system.

Concrete illustrations like the Zabern incident are sorely needed at all points in teaching institutional

[1] Dawson, William Harbutt: *What is Wrong with Germany?* p. 121.

history to high-school pupils. Experience has shown that many a pupil who can make a glib recitation on the forms of a government like that of Germany, for instance, may yet fail to answer intelligently the simplest question which involves an application of the facts he has so carefully committed to memory. Every variety of expedient must be devised to impress upon him the actual working of the system rather than its outward form.

As one way of meeting this need in the case of the government of Germany, a chart has been prepared (pp. 84–85), giving in parallel columns a comparative view of the governments of Great Britain and the German Empire. These two systems lend themselves especially well to the purpose, because, while both are in form constitutional monarchies, the one in practice represents democracy and the other autocracy. It is hoped that by this comparative study the essential differences between the two ideals will stand out sharply.

Pupils must learn to distinguish that which is essential to democracy from that which is mere matter of form. In both countries they notice at once that the government is ostensibly in the hands of a monarch and a parliamentary body acting concurrently. In each case they find that the representative assembly is made up of two chambers, one aristocratic and one filled by popular election. In both systems the first minister is the chief administrative officer. Yet

in Great Britain they know that the House of Commons is the real controlling force, while in Germany it was the Emperor who acted with power. They perceive clearly that autocracy is not a mere matter of form. Neither, they find, is democracy always of the same pattern. Government by the people in Great Britain proves not inconsistent with monarchical forms. This is a new idea to many American children. Even after studying the government of England they still cling to the idea that only a republic can be truly democratic. The comparison of the British with the German government helps to remove this impression. It helps to the understanding of the British system as well as the German.

Out of this discussion also emerges the conviction that the safety of the state depends not on a written constitution but on the political experience of its people. In Germany and England, as in France, historic tradition is seen to be a determining factor in the making of history. To make this clear, the class reviews once more, in brief, the long struggle for liberty in England and the series of experiments in government by which the English people at last secured the mastery over affairs of state. By way of contrast they then consider the circumstances under which the German constitution was made; that it was the work of a reactionary statesman, and was given to the people, full grown, as the gift of royalty. In England they see popular government secured with-

out a formal constitution; in the German Empire they find every formality of written document without adequate safeguards for popular rights.

The actual effect of these political conditions on the life of the individual is perhaps the most instructive part of the comparison. On this point the chart is largely a summary of portions of the book referred to in an earlier connection, *What is Wrong with Germany?* by William Harbutt Dawson. This little volume contains materials for comparison in convenient form. Since Mr. Dawson has given his life to the study of Germany and German institutions, he is able from his special knowledge to furnish just the information and illustration which is needed. The book is not written in a style suitable for children, but is admirably adapted to the need of the teacher.

In the chart, under the topic "Privileges of Citizens," a comparison is first made of the measure of personal liberty enjoyed by the Englishman and the German respectively. It is seen that the Englishman's right to freedom of speech and action are safeguarded to the utmost; that even the orators in Hyde Park, or the Suffragettes who openly criticize the government, carry on their agitation under the full protection of the police. The German on the other hand could hold public meetings and conduct popular agitation only at the discretion of the police, and was hampered at every turn by *verboten* signs.

In the matter of freedom of the press the two quo-

tations on the power of public opinion give the whole contrast between the two countries as in a nutshell. In England, we find "public opinion a check on government," while in Germany, it was so managed as to be "a lever in the hands of government." It is only necessary by way of illustration to call attention to the difference between the power of Lord Northcliffe, who, it is said, can make and unmake ministries by the influence of his journals with the comparative helplessness of the German editor under the Empire.

The case is seen to be similar in questions relating to popular control of the government. The power of the purse, which custom has long since given in England to the representatives of the people, was enjoyed by the German in only a limited degree, since only bills for new taxation required his consent. In this, as in all matters of legislation, the *Reichstag*, the popular house, acted largely under the compulsion of the Emperor and the *Bundesrath*. In administrative questions the will of the lower house was even less effective, since the English device of a ministry responsible to the people was here replaced by a Chancellor responsible to the Kaiser.

The German under the Empire, then, is understood to have lacked the fundamental liberties for which the Englishman began to fight in the thirteenth century, and which have been secured to him by constant revision of the government to suit his needs. The German did not enjoy complete personal lib-

erty, whether in speech or action. He did not control his property, since he could be taxed without the consent of his representatives. He had neither control of legislation nor responsibility for the administration of the government. Even equal justice before the law would seem to have been an uncertain privilege. Furthermore the Emperor, through his influence over the Prussian delegates in the *Bundesrath*, could block any attempt at revision of the constitution. A consideration of these conditions shows the pupil that much of the difference between the English and the Germans as a people is to be explained by the fact that the Germans have been denied the educational advantage of those experiments in government by means of which the English have worked out their political problems.

The effect of the illiberal system of the Germans on the character of the individual citizen is made the subject of further parallel study. Mr. Dawson points out that official censorship of public opinion and discouragement of a critical spirit cannot fail to train the citizen to habits of intellectual docility, and to the custom of leaving everything to the state. As a result, the sense of public responsibility is not well developed. Individual initiative and independence of spirit do not flourish in such an atmosphere. Yet these are the very qualities most needed for successful self-government. The conclusion to be drawn by pupils is that the democratic government under

which they live differs from that of the German Empire in that it has a greater tendency to exalt the individual and calls for a higher quality of citizenship. This is a reflection calculated to fire the ambition and elevate the conscience.

After Autocracy and Militarism, "Material Efficiency" was indicated in the outline as a third general topic.

Under this heading comes first the conservation and use of natural resources. Germany's management of forests and mines, her improvements of rivers and harbors, her use of the transportation system for the furtherance of industry should all be included under this head. Closely allied to these topics are those which deal with the commercial development of the country, like the tariff policy, or the use of free ports. In general the methods by means of which German pre-war commerce reached formidable proportions ought to be clearly understood.

These subjects lead naturally to the consideration of the movement for expansion which accompanied commercial development. This involves a journey almost around the world map in the effort to trace the extent of German ambition. The Far East, Mesopotamia, the Berlin to Bagdad railway route, Morocco, South America, the whole extent of Pan-German ambition must be followed on the map and its significance explained.

A place ought to be found, too, for a brief consider-

ation of German methods of dealing with community problems. The German city governments with their ample provision for every side of community life have many lessons for the American boy, if he will but heed them. He must be made to feel that no democracy fully justifies itself until the public wealth and the public interest are as efficiently conserved by representatives of the people as by an especially trained bureaucracy. If that is not the case to-day, it is a part of his business to prepare himself to make improvements when he in turn becomes a voter.

On the topic of state socialism a parallel study of experiments in Germany and in Great Britain gives additional illustration of the outward similarity and inward difference between the two governments. In both countries the "war on poverty" has been accepted as the business of the state. But in Germany that policy was adopted as a bar to the rising tide of democratic socialism, while in England it was undertaken as one step in the development of the growing democracy. A comparative survey of the method and underlying spirit of this work in each country helps the student to clarify his conception of both nations.

In a discussion of German education the boy is in a position to speak advisedly. Here he can make comparisons for himself. It will not take him long to discover some startling differences between the German system and that of which he is himself a part.

The careful maintenance of class distinctions in Germany, for instance, is in sharp contrast to the democracy of the American public school. Equally foreign is the intense seriousness of the German boy's application to his work. The explanation for this in the rigor of state control over the entire life of the citizen opens to the boy an entirely new train of thought as he considers, probably for the first time, his own relation as a schoolboy to the state which provides for his education.

These topics for the study of Germany admit of great variety in treatment. Although limited in number, they cover much ground. They may be still further amplified if time permits, or they may take the skeleton form adopted by the textbooks. The real question is not the letter but the spirit of the discussion. Germany at the present time does not offer a favorable field for the development of a dispassionate, scientific habit of mind. The emotions of the war time forbid. In some communities anything but the bitterest denunciation of all things German is thought to savor of disloyalty. In other places pupils meet with a sharp challenge all arguments in favor of the war. The needs of the community must determine the character of the teaching. In this part of the work as nowhere else the teacher has urgent need of sound wisdom and discretion.

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

As shown by Contrast between the Governments of

	Great Britain	and	The German Empire
Character of Government	Constitutional Monarchy in form Democracy in practice		Constitutional Monarchy in form Autocracy in practice
Basis of Constitution	Political experience of the people		Political ideas of Bismarck
Historic Tradition	The internal history of England largely a struggle to establish and secure English liberties		Historical development based on absolutism and militarism.
Privileges of Citizens			
I. Personal Liberty	Widest possible liberty in speech and action		"Nowhere else in the world does the State exert so large a control over the activities of the citizens as in Germany" (W. H. Dawson)
II. Liberty of the Press	"Public opinion a check on government"		"Public opinion a lever in the hands of government"

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

As shown by Contrast between the Governments of

	Great Britain	and	The German Empire
III. Control of Government	(a) Taxation — power of the purse in the hands of representatives of the people		Control of taxation by the representative chamber extremely limited
	(b) Legislation — since 1911 legislative power in the hands of representatives of the people		The Reichstag — the representative chamber, almost a "Hall of Echoes"
	(c) Administration — Ministry responsible to the House of Commons		Chancellor responsible only to the Emperor

GERMANY

Topical Outline and Reading References

Characteristics of the German Imperial Government: Autocracy, Militarism, Material Efficiency.

A. Autocracy.

The government constitutional in form, autocratic in practice.

I. The Emperor.
- Military power.
- Influence over foreign relations.
- Executive power.
- Legislative power.
- Judicial power.

II. The Chancellor.
- By whom appointed.
- To whom responsible.
- Powers and duties.

III. The Bundesrath.
- Composition.
- Powers.

IV. The Reichstag.
- Method of election.
- Limitations on its power.

Government of the Kingdom of Prussia.

I. The King.
- His powers.

II. The Landtag.
- House of Lords.
  - Appointed by the Crown.
- House of Representatives.
  - Elected by the three class system.
  - Limitations on its power.

III. Local government.
Large powers reserved to the President of the Province.

IV. Prussian Bureaucracy
2,000,000 officials recruited largely from the classes that profit most by absolutism.

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B. Militarism in Germany.
Meaning of militarism.
"The conception of militarism makes the army a

direct instrument of State policy and war a legitimate political purpose, instead of a terrible abnormality. In accordance with that idea the whole life of the nation is organized on a military plan. The home, the school, professional life, industrial and commercial relationships, the working of the State and public service, — all are regulated from the standpoint of warlike possibilities, and subordinated to the one supreme consideration, how best to convert the nation into an efficient fighting machine. In order that this view of State purpose may be realized, the civilian's placid life is represented as something inferior to the career of the soldier, and a powerful administrative caste is set up, as a class apart from the rest of the nation, whose business it is to personify the military ideal and keep before the nation the view that war is a worthier pursuit than peace." (W. H. Dawson, *What is Wrong with Germany?* p. 114.)

Historical basis for Prussian militarism.
  Policies of the Great Elector.
  Methods by which Frederick the Great made Prussia powerful.
  Wars deliberately provoked to secure Prussian ascendency.
    The Schleswig-Holstein War.
    The Austro-Prussian War.
    The Franco-Prussian War.

Attitude of William II toward militarism.
  William II "a true Hohenzollern," "first a soldier, then a citizen, first the leader of the Prussian army, then King of the Prussian people."
    Significant characteristics of William II.
      Ancestor worship.
      Belief in the divine right of kings.
      Supreme self-confidence.

Political and social effect of militarism.

Militarism the enemy of democracy and political liberty.

Illustration: the Zabern affair.

References:

Coolidge, *Origins of the Triple Alliance*, pp. 27–53.

Davis, *Medieval and Modern Europe*, pp. 342–43, 351–56, 493–509.

Davis, *The Roots of the War*, pp. 3–23, 210–15, 218–24.

Dawson, *German Life in Town and Country*, pp. 25–27, 92–121.

Dawson, *Germany and the Germans*, vol. I, pp. 22–53.

Dawson, *What is Wrong with Germany?* pp. 89–130.

Harding, *The Great War*, pp. 1, 8–9.

Hazen, *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule*, pp. 189–214.

Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 16–32, 52–54.

Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 341–50.

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Prothero, *German Policy before the War*, pp. 2–4, 17–24.

Robinson, *The Last Decade of European History and the Great War*, pp. xxiii–xxv, lxiv–lxix.

Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 515–22.

Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 409–19, 615–22, 727–30.

Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 308–14.

Tower, *Germany of To-day*, pp. 69–85.

West, *The Modern World*, pp. 416, 582–91, 657–59.

Whitcomb, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 213–19.

C. Economic Organization of the German Empire.

I. Natural resources.

II. Transportation system.

Rivers and canals.

Railroads and ports.

III. Industries.
  Organization of industry.
  Condition of the laborer in town and country.
    Pension and insurance systems.
    Care for the unemployed.

IV. Commerce.
  Its extent.
  Its methods.
  Tariff policy and free ports.

References:

Davis, *The Roots of the War*, pp. 202–04.

Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany*, pp. 46–65, 71–74, 79–94, 148–64, 209–20, 232–35, 336–39.

Dawson, *The German Workman*, pp. 1–86, 194–241.

Dawson, *Industrial Germany*, pp. 21–44, 228–45.

Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany*, pp. 300–08.

Gibbons, *New Map of Africa*, pp. 173–88, 228–43, 299–311, 470–80.

Herrick, *History of Commerce and Industry*, pp. 373–400.

Howe, *Socialized Germany*, pp. 80–160.

Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 116–19, 123–24.

Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 293–306.

Tower, *Germany of To-day*, pp. 160–82.

West, *The Modern World*, pp. 664–68.

D. City Government.
  Administration of German cities.
    Expert training for municipal office.
      Lack of practice in self-government.
    Method of city planning.
    Provision for recreation and education.

References:

Anon., *The German Nation, National Geographic Magazine*, vol. XXVI, pp. 275–87.
Dawson, *Germany and the Germans*, vol. I, pp. 54–82.
Dawson, *German Life in Town and Country*, pp. 271–77, 279–82.
Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany*, pp. 123–61, 208–79.
Howe, *European Cities at Work*, pp. 3–270.
Howe, *The Modern City and its Problems*, pp. 118–31, 218–29, 261–71, 296–303.
Howe, *Socialized Germany*, pp. 265–323.
Munro, *The Government of European Cities*, pp. 109–208.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 634–35.
Tower, *Germany of To-day*, pp. 100–28.

E. Education as an Instrument of State Policy.

General Characteristics.

Adaptation of educational system to all forms of public service.

Elementary education.
Vocational education.
The Gymnasia and the Universities.

Preservation of social distinctions in the educational system.

Thoroughness of training.

References:

Cestre, *France, England and European Democracy*, pp. 261–66.
Dawson, *German Life in Town and Country*, pp. 122–41.
Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany*, pp. 292–96, 311–37.

F. Some tendencies of German literature and thought.

Emphasis on the idea of duty, especially duty to one's country.

Kant, Fichte, Hegel.
Glorification of the German nation.
Historic drama of Schiller.
Impetus given to nationalist spirit by German historians.
Recent development of the Pan-German idea.

References:
Robinson, *The Last Decade of European History and The Great War*, pp. lxiv–lxviii.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 330–33.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 139–42, 321–23.
Schapiro, War Cyclopedia, "Pan-Germanism."

G. German Expansion.
Colonies in Africa.
Island possessions.
Commercial interests in China, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and in Latin America.

References:
Bigelow, *The Children of the Nations*, pp. 111–26.
Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 399–406.
Gibbins, *History of Commerce in Europe*, pp. 200–03.
Gibbons, *New Map of Africa*, 173–88, 228–43, 299–311.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 373–74, 408.
Holt and Chilton, *History of Europe*, pp. 302–04, 331–35, 456–71, 532–33.
Prothero, *German Policy Before the War*, pp. 26–31, 35–43.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 143–45.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 455–56, 459–60.
West, *Modern World*, pp. 663–64.

4. RUSSIA

THE teacher would be bold to the point of rashness who undertook at this juncture an interpretation of the Russian nation. It is an impossible task. Yet any view of Europe which omitted Russia would stand convicted of gross inadequacy. A country which covers one sixth of the earth's surface cannot be lightly overlooked. Between the two horns of the dilemma the Study of Nations is awkwardly placed. At best only a makeshift outline can be attempted. Wherever any solid ground appears it may be taken for a foundation. If anything that looks like a constructive force emerges from the surrounding chaos it may be noted and explained, so far as possible. The rest must be left for the revision of happier times.

Russian geography at least is as yet stable save for its outer fringe. So far as the history of the country is determined by vastness of territory or rigors of climate the situation remains unchanged. The study of productions and natural resources is still profitable. The map still shows the limitations imposed by the lack of adequate seaports. As geography is the key to much of Russian history a good starting-point is thus secured.

Both at home and abroad geographical conditions are seen to influence the course of events. Many of the difficulties of administration have been due to the wide expanse of Russian territory and to her multi-

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

As shown by Contrast between the Governments of

	Great Britain	and	The German Empire
Character of Government	Constitutional Monarchy in form Democracy in practice		Constitutional Monarchy in form Autocracy in practice
Basis of Constitution	Political experience of the people		Political ideas of Bismarck
Historic Tradition	The internal history of England largely a struggle to establish and secure English liberties		Historical development based on absolutism and militarism.
Privileges of Citizens			
I. Personal Liberty	Widest possible liberty in speech and action		"Nowhere else in the world does the State exert so large a control over the activities of the citizens as in Germany" (W. H. Dawson)
II. Liberty of the Press	"Public opinion a check on government"		"Public opinion a lever in the hands of government"

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

As shown by Contrast between the Governments of

	Great Britain	and	The German Empire
III. Control of Government	(a) Taxation — power of the purse in the hands of representatives of the people		Control of taxation by the representative chamber extremely limited
	(b) Legislation— since 1911 legislative power in the hands of representatives of the people		The Reichstag — the representative chamber, almost a "Hall of Echoes"
	(c) Administration — Ministry responsible to the House of Commons		Chancellor responsible only to the Emperor

oppressive yoke of the Czars. Up to the dramatic events of 1917 the way was clear and plain.

Before continuing the story, however, a comparative study of the Russian and the French Revolutions may be introduced.[1] This not only makes a good review of the work on France, it also serves to bring into clearer relief the significance of events in Russia. An article in the *Magazine of Current History* for July, 1917,[2] provides an excellent outline for the comparison.

In both France and Russia it appears that the way was prepared by the writings of philosophers and leaders of thought. The dissemination of the doctrine of universal brotherhood by Tolstoi, Herzen, and Bakunin is comparable to the educational propaganda conducted in France by Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists. In both cases, too, the revolution was evidently precipitated by the calling of a representative assembly. In both France and Russia this act on the part of the ruler gave to the people what they most needed, — an organization which could be made the instrument of popular will. As Carlyle remarked of the French Revolution that it swallowed up its own children, so pupils may observe in Russia the gradual disappearance of the more conservative reformers, until the country becomes at last a prey to the radical elements in the population.

[1] See p. 98.

[2] "The Russian and French Revolutions: Parallels and Contrasts, 1789–1917"; in *Magazine of Current History*, June, 1917, pp. 118–23.

With the outbreak of the so-called second revolution in Russia and the overthrow of the Kerensky régime perplexities begin to multiply. New elements rise to the surface which were not so much in evidence in France. There the revolution spent itself largely in the seizure of political privileges. In Russia the passion for social justice has made political democracy only a secondary issue. This socialist phase of the Russian struggle confronts the teacher with new questions. The place of socialist doctrine in education is still unsettled. Recent textbooks now usually give a brief summary of the history of socialism and still more brief notice of its doctrines. How far and in what spirit should this be expanded in the classroom? This is a question for the individual teacher or for the ruling of some competent authority. Certainly the tenets of the leading parties in Russia, so far as they can be determined, must be explained and carefully differentiated. The reasons for bitterness and disunion may well be given. In the search for constructive forces the *Mir*, the *Zemstvo*, and the *Soviet* have seemed worthy of somewhat careful treatment.

The work is all fragmentary and unsatisfactory. Materials are scanty and hard to obtain. Information is of uncertain value. School children and adults alike must await with open mind the gradual shaping of events.

Comparative Study of the French and the Russian Revolutions

A. The First Uprising.
   In France against feudal privilege.
   In Russia against taxation and bureaucratic government.

B. Preliminary Work of Leaders of Thought.
   In France.
      Preaching of the virtue of sincerity and admiration for English ideas by Voltaire.
      Rousseau's declaration: "Man was born free."
   In Russia.
      Doctrine of universal brotherhood taught by Tolstoi, Herzen, and Bakunin.

C. Political Change helped by the Summoning of Successive Assemblies.
   In France.
      Assembly of Notables.
      Constituent Assembly.
      Legislative Assembly.
   In Russia.
      Council of the Empire.
      Imperial Douma.

D. Revolutionary Parties increasingly Radical.
   "The revolution swallowed up its own children."
   In France, the Girondists followed by Jacobins.
   In Russia, the Constitutional Democrats followed by the Bolsheviki.

Chief Point of Contrast.
   In France, emphasis placed upon political democracy.
   In Russia, emphasis placed upon industrial democracy.

EUROPEAN NATIONS

RUSSIA

Topical Outline and Reading References

A. The Land and its Resources.
- Its vast extent.
- Its varied character.
- Difficulties in transportation.
- Paucity of seaports.
  - The struggle for harbors.
    - Under Peter the Great.
      - Capture of Azov and Riga.
      - Building of St. Petersburg.
  - The Siberian Railway.
  - Present effort to establish railway communication with the ice-free ports of the North.

B. The Russian People.
- Races.
- Classes of society.
- Education.
  - Large percentage of illiteracy.
  - Restrictions on political education under the Czars.
- Religion.
  - Origin of the Greek Catholic Church.
  - Organization and influence of the Church.
  - Attitude toward Jews.
- References:
  - Alexinsky, *Modern Russia*, pp. 13–33, 129–35, 146–50, 167–70, 201–03.
  - Bigelow, *The Children of the Nations*, pp. 252–63.
  - Brown, *Russia in Transformation*, pp. 122–62.
  - Davis, *Economic Possibilities of Russia, The World's Work*, October, 1918, pp. 661–68.
  - Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 441–52.
  - Grosvenor, *Young Russia, National Geographic Magazine*, November, 1914, pp. 421–520.

Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 681–82, 687, 696–703, 706–18.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 246–48.
Herrick, *History of Commerce and Industry*, pp. 402–21.
Hillis, *Studies of the Great War*, pp. 119–37.
Lingelbach, *Geography in Russian History*, *Popular Science Monthly*, January, 1915, pp. 5–24.
Martens, *Unique Maps of Russia and Siberia*, *The World's Work*, October, 1918, pp. 673 and ff.
Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 119–22.
Pechkoff, *A Few Glimpses into Russia*, *National Geographic Magazine*, September, 1917, pp. 238–53.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 499–501, 528–45.
Schuyler, *Russia's Democrats*, *National Geographic Magazine*, March, 1917, pp. 210–40.
Washburn, *The Russian Situation and Its Significance to America*, *National Geographic Magazine*, April, 1917, pp. 371–82.
Washburn, *Russia from Within*, *National Geographic Magazine*, August, 1917, pp. 91–120.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 699–707.
Whitcomb, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 250–56, 330–34.
Wilson, *War and Democracy*, pp. 164–65, 170–72.

C. Varieties of Political Opinion.

The Cadets.
The Social Democrats.
The Social Revolutionary Party.

References:

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 474–78, 480–81.
Schapiro, *History of Modern and Contemporary Europe*, pp. 557–60.

D. Reasons for Bitterness against the Romanoffs.
  Absolutist character of the government from Peter the Great to Nicholas II.
  Policy of repression.
    The spy system.
    The Siberian exile system.
    Injustice of the courts.
  Corruption of government officials.

E. Experience of the Russian People in Self-Government prior to the Revolution.
  The *Mir*.
    Its peculiar characteristics.
  The *Zemstvo*.
    Work of the *Zemstvos* at the outbreak of the war.
  The *Douma*.
    Circumstances under which it was established.
    Limitations on its power.
    Its part in bringing on the revolution.

F. The Campaign of Revolt against the Government.
  Peaceful propaganda.
  Use of the strike for political purposes.
  War on the government by the terrorists.

G. Character of the Russian Revolution.
  Demand for social as well as political reform.

H. The Course of Events.
  The first revolution, 1917.
    Overthrow of the Czar.
    Establishment of provisional government under Kerensky.
  The second revolution.
    Overthrow of Kerensky.
    Gradual ascendency of the Bolsheviki.

References:

Anon., *The Russian and French Revolutions: Parallels and Contrasts*, 1789–1917, *Magazine of Current History*, June, 1917, pp. 118–23.
Anon., *Russia's Two Revolutions*, *Review of Reviews*, January, 1918, pp. 59–62.
Brown, *Russia in Transformation*, pp. 9–22, 47–59, 68–94, 113–16.
Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 645–80.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 247–63, 283–89, 375–83, 391–94.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 558–70, 585–93.
Levine, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 52–64.
Robinson, *The Last Decade of European History*, pp. xii–xv.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 674–87.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 261–301.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 73–79, 551–73.
Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. I, pp. 57–63, vol. II, pp. 338–81.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 501–28, 546–69, 742–48.
Seymour and Frary, *How the World Votes*, vol. II, pp. 125–74.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 707–13.

5. ITALY

To pupils who have studied the history of Europe to 1700 but have heard nothing of it since that date, save for the passing glimpses afforded in following the fortunes of Napoleon, the present condition of Italy needs explanation. They know of course that the

Italians of to-day are a united nation, North and South. The Catholics among them know something of the present position of the Pope. But all that has happened since the fall of Napoleon to change that Italy which was only a "geographical expression" into the home land of a united people is unknown, and is the subject of legitimate curiosity.

First it is necessary to learn something more of present conditions. What is the government of Italy to-day? Who is its King? How did the Italians gain unity and independence? For answer the class turns back once more to the textbook account of the Congress of Vienna, already familiar in connection with the history of other nations. From that point they trace the development of Italian unity and the gradual spread of constitutional government throughout the peninsula. For some reason the study of Italian leaders, Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour, in the effort to ascertain their services to the cause of democracy, rouses an unusual degree of interest, especially if the account given in Hazen's *History of Modern Europe* is available for reading. Pupils confess that they had gained from observation the impression that Italians were chiefly day laborers; the study of Italian statesmanship as exemplified in these men came as a revelation.

For lack of time many sides of modern Italian life must of necessity be omitted. The place of modern Italy in the world of art and letters, and her heroic

attempts to better her economic condition, must receive the briefest mention. Her colonial ambitions, bringing her into the field of international politics, call for a little fuller explanation. Especially the relations between Austria and Italy and the power of the dream of *Italia Irredenta* as a moving force in politics must be the subject of discussion, since they explain Italy's part in the world conflict. Every pupil must understand that this brief survey is merely introductory, and that his study of Italy as a nation must be deferred to later years.

At this point in the work some kind of general review is urgently required. A great danger attending the study of each nation separately is that pupils may become confused in their ideas of chronology. Every effort is needed in order to leave at the last a clear and definite impression. Any sort of bird's-eye view is helpful. An example of one kind of chart which has proved useful is appended (p. 105). This table was made in class as a review exercise and then made the subject of more extended study. The object was to emphasize important events in the progress of democracy in Europe. A comparison of the course of events in various countries shows how the common impulse towards democracy and national unity spread through Europe at the same period. The chart also brings out the fact that the struggle for freedom began in England much earlier than on the Continent.

Dates	*England*	*France*	*Germany*	*Italy*
1215....	Magna Carta.....	..	..	..
1295....	Model Parliament.....	..	..	..
1302....	..	Estates General.....	..	..
1628....	Petition of Right.....	..	..	..
1640–89	Struggle for English Liberty.....	..	..	..
1689....	Bill of Rights.....	..	..	..
	Mutiny Act.....	..	..	..
	Act of Succession.....	..	..	..
1789....		Constituent Assembly	..	..
1795....		Directory.....	..	..
1830....		Overthrow of Charles X	Constitution granted in minor states.....	Unsuccessful Revolution
1832....	First Reform Bill.....			
1848....		Second Republic.....	Prussian constitution granted.....	..
1849....				Constitution granted in Piedmont
1867....	Second Reform Bill....			
1871....		Third Republic.....	Formation of German Empire with written constitution.....	Rome the capital of United Italy
1884....	Third Reform Bill.....	..	..	..
1911....	Abolition of veto power of House of Lords...	..	..	..

These topics may well be made the subject of a somewhat extended review, as they put in a new light facts already familiar. Such a scheme, too, tends to emphasize the solidarity of human endeavor, an idea which may readily be overlooked in a purely nationalist study of history.

ITALY

Topical Outline and Reading References

A. Present Government of Italy.

B. Steps by which Italian Unity was accomplished.
- Italy in 1815 "a geographical expression."
  - Position of the house of Piedmont.
- Work of Mazzini and Cavour.
- War of 1859 and its results.
  - Union of the northern states under Piedmont.
- Work of Garibaldi.
- Addition of the two Sicilies to the union.
- Addition of Venetia in 1868.
- Final union with Rome as the capital, 1879.

C. Position of the Pope in Italy.

D. Economic Condition of Italy.

E. Colonial Ambitions.
- Conquests in East Africa.
- Occupation of Tripoli and Rhodes.

F. Irredentism as a Moving Force in Italian Politics.

References:

Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 429–36.

Gibbons, *The New Map of Africa*, pp. 115–29.

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 367–78.
Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 376–87.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 3–16, 96–105, 305–07.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 325–40, 409–15, 600–01.
Hillis, *Studies of the Great War*, pp. 168–74, 185–88.
Holt and Chilton, *History of Europe*, pp. 43–49.
Lapworth, *Tripoli and Young Italy*, pp. 193–284.
Lowell, *Greater European Governments*, pp. 197–232.
Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, pp. 184–85.
Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 404–20.
Riggs, *Inexhaustible Italy*, *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1916, pp. 273–368.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 574–77, 608–12, 622–25.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 90–107.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 410–25.
Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. II, pp. 115–41.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 195–219, 442–55.
Stoddard and Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, pp. 147–63.
Thayer, William Roscoe, *Italia Irredenta*, *The World's Work*, December, 1918, pp. 180–84.
Wallace, *Greater Italy*, pp. 141–58.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 669–72.
Whitcomb, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 237–49.

6. THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

THE Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, as it stood before the War, would seem to have no proper place in a study of nations. A state which is purely the outcome of artificial arrangement and not the product of genuine national feeling offers in itself little of interest to the student of nationality. Whether it be compared with France, a consolidated national unit, or with Switzerland, which out of three main races and tongues has contrived to build a united nation, or with the United States, rightly denominated a nation, although containing within its borders as great racial variety as Austria-Hungary itself — with whatever federated state the comparison be made, the Dual Monarchy was chiefly remarkable for that which it was not. Neither race nor language nor the self-determination of its people entitled it to be called a nation.

Yet, for purposes of comparison, the Dual Monarchy has distinct educational value. For this comparative work, however, the briefest outline study of the governmental system is sufficient. Pupils must understand the circumstances under which the empire was established. They must know something of the devices by which the makers of the constitution attempted to reconcile conflicting claims. These essential points can be brought out without extended study of details.

More important is the peculiar racial situation which occasioned the difficulty of government. The mere enumeration of races within the empire gives enlightenment. A study of their mutual jealousies and nationalist ambitions brings the student into contact with the underlying forces which are making history in that region. These potential nationalities, not the clumsy system of which they formed a part, are the important topics for discussion.

For obvious reasons no attempt is made to reproduce for pupils the kaleidoscopic life of the Austrian Empire as a whole. One might perhaps give some idea of the life in Vienna or in Buda-Pesth, but neither of these cities can justly claim to represent the civilization of the empire. A complete picture of its varied life is out of the question.

In American communities where former Austrian subjects are congregated a study of the prevailing racial element might be introduced into the "Study of Nations" with good effect. In the city of Cleveland, for instance, where immigrants from the dual empire have settled in large numbers, the city library has undertaken a work for Americanization which might well be extended to the schools. The pamphlet on *The Slovaks of Cleveland*, by Mrs. Eleanor E. Ledbetter, published under the direction of the Cleveland Americanization Committee, serves as a social introduction between the Slovaks of the city and the native Americans. So far as it interprets to

Americans the home life and ideals of the Slovak population, it is meeting the very need which the "Study of Nations" is designed to serve. In most communities any extended study of so primitive a people as the Slovak would be out of proportion, but where the local conditions call for such work, its introduction would seem to be well worth while. It is the intention that the "Study of Nations" be adapted to the need of the individual community.

From an international point of view Austria-Hungary is of course crucially important. The relations between Austria and Germany, the historical causes back of the rivalry of Austria with Russia on the one side and Italy on the other, are topics of great importance. Austria's relations to the Balkan States too must be understood, if the tragedy of Sarajevo is to have any significance. Heretofore these subjects have received but hurried treatment as part of the preparation for studying the Great War. In the near future events may so shape themselves in this part of the world that the proportions must be radically changed.

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN DUAL MONARCHY

Topical Outline and Reading References

A. The People of Austria-Hungary.

Various races within the empire; their mutual jealousies and nationalist ambitions.

B. The Form of Government.
- The Dual Monarchy.
- The Delegations.
- The constitutions of Austria and Hungary.
- Position of subordinate races in the empire.
- Circumstances under which this government was formed, 1867.

C. International Relations.
- Close alliance with Germany.
- Rivalry with Russia for influence in the Balkans.
- Enmity towards Servia.
  - Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina contrary to Servian interests.
  - Attempt to block the growth of Servia by formation of an independent Albania under Austrian influence.
  - Tariff discrimination against Servian products.

References:

Bigelow, Poultney, *Austria-Hungary*, *The World's Work*, December, 1918, pp. 185–87.
Davis, *The Roots of the War*, pp. 289–307.
Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 426–35.
Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 388–405.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 106–20, 299–301.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 416–27, 595–97, 604–06.
Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War*, pp. 531–55.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 737–41.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 123–29.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 439–43, 586, 589–91.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 424–41.

Stoddard and Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, pp. 92–94, 100, 119–31, 135–43, 167–87, 215–17.
West, *The Modern World*, pp. 873–76.
Whitcomb, *A History of Modern Europe*, pp. 221–25, 231–36.

7. TURKEY AND THE BALKAN STATES

THE Balkan States present to the teacher of history such an apparently hopeless tangle that more than one of the guild has sighed for the good old days of Bismarck, when even that astute statesman could ignore the Eastern question as "not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier." To-day, they are important not for their size or wealth, but because of their geographical position and their relation to the Great Powers. For the purposes of this brief study only the barest outline of their history is required.

Since no real national study is to be attempted, the simplest method of dealing with the political situation seems in this case to be chronological. The class begins with map study of Turkey in Europe at its greatest extent and then follows the process by which the small states of the Balkan peninsula gradually gained their independence. From that point any good textbook account of the Balkan Wars and the Treaty of Bucharest gives sufficient information. The object is to give the pupil just enough intelligence to enable him to fit these states into the general puzzle of European politics.

For this unambitious purpose the most useful facts are not those dealing with the internal history of each state but those which bear upon the confused international relations in that section. It is a region of blurred outlines and conflicting interests. Only the most striking features can be pointed out. The situation as regards the little Balkan States themselves is well illustrated in the recent textbook *Medieval and Modern Times*, by Professor James Harvey Robinson. He gives in a good map a graphic picture of these States as they are and as they would like to be, telling the story better than any narrative.[1] A similar study of the Adriatic coast showing the relative claims and desires of Austria, Italy, and Servia would be most welcome. Austria's attempted domination over the whole region which has made her the hated neighbor of the Slavs needs special emphasis. To explain her relation toward Servia in particular, some attention needs to be given to the economic conditions which aggravate the racial enmity. Lastly the place of these Balkan States in Germany's ambitious projects must be well understood.

With every day the situation in the Balkan peninsula changes. Every change brings a shifting of the point of interest. The treatment of the whole subject should not be regarded as an integral part of the "Study of Nations" until the projected States in that

[1] Robinson, James Harvey: *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 699. Ginn & Co. Boston, 1918.

region have proved themselves genuine nationalities. It is introduced here only as a necessity in view of the Great War to which all history is now an introduction.

TURKEY AND THE BALKAN STATES

Topical Outline and Reading References

Turkey

A. Its Form of Government.
   The Sultan.
   The Parliament.

B. Character of Turkish Rule.
   At home.
   Over subject people.
      The Bulgarian atrocities.
      The Armenian atrocities.
   German influence in Turkey.

C. History of Turkey in Europe.
   Its origin.
      Capture of Constantinople, 1453.
   Its territory at the largest extent.
   Its position in the nineteenth century.
      "The sick man of Europe."
   Reasons for its support by the western powers in the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish Wars.
   Revolution of 1908.
   Reduction of territory as result of war with Italy and the Balkan Wars.
   References:
      Coolidge, *Origins of the Triple Alliance*, pp. 65–82.
      Davis, *The Roots of the War*, pp. 268–88.
      Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 528–39.

Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 226–35, 296–315.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 548–50, 555–57, 594–606.
Hillis, *Studies of the Great War*, pp. 149–60.
Holt and Chilton, *History of Europe*, pp. 441–44, 454–55, 483–84, 494.
Robinson, *The Last Decade of European History and The Great War*, pp. x–xi, xxxi–xxxii.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 420, 689–701.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 303–15.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 574–83, 586–91.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 640–49.
Sloane, *The Balkans*, pp. 25–37, 45–48.

Greece

A. Its Present Government.
Opposing parties.
Reasons for the overthrow of King Constantine.

B. Economic Condition.

C. Territorial Ambitions.
References:
Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 495–96, 515–17, 528–36.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 229, 241–43.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 542–43, 554–55, 602–06.
Holt and Chilton, *The History of Europe*, pp. 189, 248, 250–51, 483–506.
Moses, *Greece of To-day*, *National Geographic Magazine*, October, 1915, pp. 295–329.

Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 578, 690–91.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 315–16.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 583–84.
Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. II, pp. 384–88.
Seymour and Frary, *How the World Votes*, vol. II, pp. 240–45.
Sloane, *The Balkans*, pp. 39–40, 106–14.

Bulgaria

A. Formation as an independent state.

B. Rivalry with Greece and Servia.

C. Its part in the first and second Balkan Wars. Treaty of Bucharest.

D. Attitude in the Great War.

References:

Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 521–23.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 231–39, 311–13, 348, 408.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 547–52, 595–96, 602–06.
Holt and Chilton, *History of Europe*, pp. 189–91, 248–52, 499-500, 506-07.
Jenkins, *Bulgaria and Its Women*, *National Geographic Magazine*, April, 1915, pp. 377–400.
Robinson, *The Last Decade of European History*, pp. xxii–xxiv, l.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 694–95.

Seymour and Frary, *How the World Votes*, vol. II, pp. 255–60.
Sloane, *The Balkans*, pp. 126–33.

Servia

A. Separation from Turkey.

B. Part played by Servia in the Balkan Wars.

C. Economic needs and territorial ambitions.

D. The new Jugo-Slavic state.

References:
Harding, *The Great War*, pp. 29–34.
Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 499, 519–21, 528–33, 536–39, 706–13.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 228, 233–41, 300–01, 311–18, 321–22, 348–50.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 547–48, 553, 596–97, 602–12.
Holt and Chilton, *History of Europe*, pp. 209–10, 214, 444–46, 496–99.
MacAdam, George, *Jugoslavia, The World's Work*, December, 1918, pp. 154–60.
Mijatovich, *Servia and the Servians*, pp. 7–37, 233–42.
Petrovich, *Serbia, Her People, History and Aspirations*, pp. 1–35.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 689, 697–701.
Showalter, *The Kingdom of Servia, National Geographic Magazine*, April, 1915, pp. 417–32.
Sloane, *The Balkans*, pp. 133–44.
Stoddard and Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, pp. 167–186, 214.

8. THE "STUDY OF NATIONS" AND THE GREAT WAR

No course in modern history is conceivable which fails to give careful attention to the Great War. It is the subject of supreme interest in the present, and the topic to which all lines of historical development converge. A study of its causes and its historical background offers to a class just completing the "Study of Nations" a valuable review of the year's work. There is no topic in the whole outline but is seen to have some bearing on the crisis. Old facts in this connection take on new relationships, since the nations are not now considered separately, but acting together. Differences in national character are now not merely interesting in themselves; they are seen to have world-import. Imperial ambitions and rivalries take on increased significance as determining factors in international relations. As a means of binding together the various parts of the year's work and supplementing its nationalist view of history, nothing better could be devised than the story of the great international conflict. At the same time the impression of the value of historical study receives reinforcement as pupils find, in what they sometimes call the "cold bare facts of history," the key to the greatest puzzle of their experience.

To help in making a background for the war, it has seemed best, following the example of a recent text-

book writer,[1] to take a cursory view of general European conditions in the early years of the twentieth century, noting the forces that make for human solidarity as well as those which have tended toward the disruption of the civilized world.

In this bird's-eye view of Europe pupils were quick to see for themselves the material forces binding the nations together. They enumerated almost at once the various means of transportation and communication which contribute to this result. After a little thought, international movements like those of the Socialists, or the societies for the promotion of peace, were seen to have the same tendency. The intellectual and moral forces common to the civilized world were more dimly appreciated, as they belonged to a range of thought somewhat removed from the mind of the high-school pupil.

The forces of disruption were more familiar from previous work. The struggles for national unity which had been followed in Germany or Italy or the little Balkan States proved in this new view to have within themselves elements of international discord. Thus the struggle to put all Italians under one flag is still leading to endless complications, while the nationalist ambitions of the peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Balkans are seen to have direct connection with the outbreak of the "irreconcilable conflict."

[1] James Harvey Robinson: *Medieval and Modern Times*. Ginn & Co. 1918.

Still more clearly the system of imperialism is seen to be a cause of international disputes in all parts of the world. This brief enumeration of world-forces, making on the one side for harmony and on the other for discord, prepares the way for the study of the conflict itself.

The preliminary events of the war and the story of its progress forms no distinctive part of the "Study of Nations." For this work the outline, *The Study of the Great War*, published by Professor Samuel B. Harding under the auspices of the Committee on Public Information, was put into the hands of pupils and used as the basis of class discussion. This work has a place in all courses in modern history alike.

THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE GREAT WAR

Topical Outline and Reading References

A. Forces tending to Internationalism.

I. Solidarity of the world owing to easy and rapid communication and transportation.
Steam railway and steam navigation.
Suez and Panama Canals.
Post, telephone, telegraph, and cable.

II. Common movement toward democracy throughout the civilized world.
The war from one point of view the latest incident in the struggle for the rights of man.

III. Common tendency toward industrialism.
The industrial revolution and the resulting development of urban life.

IV. Moral and intellectual unity throughout the civilized world.

V. International movements.

1. The peace movement.
   - First and Second Peace conferences.
   - Establishment of a permanent court of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

2. Socialism.
   - Principles of socialism.
   - Karl Marx and his teaching.
   - Socialism in France.
     - Socialists in the Revolution of 1848.
     - Socialists in the Paris Commune.
     - Socialism under the Third Republic.
   - Socialism in England.
     - The Fabian Society.
     - Socialistic character of recent legislation. "The war on poverty."
     - Socialist principles of the British Labour Party.
   - Socialism in Russia.
     - The moving force of the Russian Revolution.
   - Socialism in Germany.
     - Beginnings under Marx and Lasalle.
     - Bismarck's attitude toward socialism.
     - Development of state and municipal socialism.

References:

Davis, *The Roots of the War*, pp. 335–44.
Harding, *The Great War*, pp. 9–10.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 41–44, 54, 290–96, 379–80.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 294–97, 314–17, 378–80, 565, 590–94.

Robinson, *The Last Decade of European History*, pp. xvii–xxii, lxii–lxiv.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 703–09, 727–33.
Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. II, pp. 319–31, 367–72, 386–405.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 681–84.
Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. II, pp. 406–19, 458–66, 489–505.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 570–602, 696–99.
Seignobos, *History of Contemporary Civilization*, pp. 425–36.

B. Nationalism and Imperialism as forces Tending to Disunion between States.
  I. Examples of nationalism as a factor in the making of modern history.
    Struggle for national unity in Germany.
    Struggle for Italian unity.
    Nationalist ambitions of the Balkan peoples.
    Nationalist feeling in Poland and Finland.
  II. Imperialism — a larger nationalism.
    1. Definition of imperialism.
      "The policy of adding distant territories for the purpose of
        controlling their products
        getting trade with natives
        investing money in the development of natural resources." (J. H. Robinson.)
    2. Imperialism a cause of international disputes.
      a. In the Far East.
        Conflicting interests of Japan, Russia, Germany, and Great Britain in China and Korea.

b. In Africa.
French and English rivalry in Egypt.
The race for Central Africa.
French and Italian rivalry in Tunis.
French and German rivalry in Morocco.

c. In the Near East.
Russian and Austrian rivalry in the Balkans.
Pan-Slavism *vs.* Pan-Germanism.
Russian and English rivalry in Persia.
German and British rivalry in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.
The Berlin to Bagdad Railway project.

References:

Harding, *The Great War*, pp. 10–11.
Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History*, pp. 268–98.
Robinson, *The Last Decade of European History and The Great War*, pp. lx–lxii.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 708, 710–23, 733–42.
Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 684–92.
Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary European History*, pp. 650–57, 671–73, 700–08.

Preliminary Events of the Great War

Murder of the Archduke Ferdinand.
The Austrian ultimatum and Servia's reply.
Attitude of Germany.
Russian mobilization.
The Triple Alliance *vs.* the *Triple Entente.*
Violation of Belgian neutrality.
Entrance of England into the war.

References:

Ashley, *Modern European Civilization*, pp. 556–77.
Coolidge, *Origins of the Triple Alliance*, pp. 138–46, 159–74, 209–18.
Harding, *The Great War*, *passim*.
Hazen, *Fifty Years of Europe*, pp. 316–31.
Hazen, *Modern European History*, pp. 608–18.
Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History*, pp. 316–27.
Holt and Chilton, *History of Europe*, pp. 220–23, 258–60, 365–87, 539–61.
Robinson, *Last Decade of European History*, pp. xxxvi–xl.
Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*, pp. 742–44.
Robinson and Beard. *Outlines of European History*, Part II, pp. 692–94.

III

ORIENTAL NATIONS

1. CHINA

THERE is on the part of Americans profound ignorance of the Far East and much of prejudice. Most of our school-children have formed their ideas of the Chinese from their observation of laundrymen and have no appreciation of the importance of China or of its ancient and rich civilization and its perplexing modern problems. The object of the teacher should thus be first of all to see that the pupil acquires some idea of the vast potential riches of China's natural resources, the ability and high civilization of its people, and the situation which confronts it to-day. But little further comment is probably needed than that given in the topical outline. It is useless to burden the pupil's memory with many Chinese names, for the average American acquires them with difficulty and readily forgets them. Those given in the outline and perhaps a few others should, however, be thoroughly learned. It is needless, too, in a course as brief as this to go into the details of dynasties and emperors before the nineteenth century. If the outstanding features of those

earlier periods can be remembered, it is about all that we should ask. The past hundred, and particularly the past twenty-five, years should be gone into somewhat more in detail, however, for it is these which lead directly to the problems of to-day. It is to be hoped that the pupil will get from the study a clear impression of the outstanding features of the Chinese, their culture and political organization, and an understanding of the main difficulties with which that people are now confronted.

The teacher would do well to read in preparation K. S. Latourette, *The Development of China*, which was written for American college students and contains most of the facts needed for this study. This book can probably also be used with profit by the students. In case a good library is accessible, it is suggested that pupils be assigned to the different books that can be found, and be asked either to report on their reading orally at an appropriate time or to hand in written reports. The bibliography attached to this chapter gives some of the more important titles, and a fuller list with critical annotations is to be found at the end of Latourette, *The Development of China*. For more recent happenings, Latourette, *China, The United States, and the War*, may be consulted and for current events *Asia* should be read carefully. The superb illustrations in the monthly will prove of interest to the class.

ORIENTAL NATIONS

CHINA

Topical Outline and Reading References

I. Outstanding characteristics of the China of to-day.

1. Geography.
   a. Boundaries.
   b. Area. (Compare with the United States.)
   c. Division into two main parts, China Proper (the Eighteen Provinces) and the outlying dependencies (Tibet, The New Territory, Mongolia, and Manchuria).
   d. Barriers of mountains, deserts, and plateaus to the north, west, and south.
   e. Chief rivers, the Yangtze and the Yellow (Hoang-ho), supplemented by many tributaries and canals.

   Latourette, *The Development of China*, chap. 1.

2. Natural resources, particularly of China Proper.
   a. Immensely fertile lands.
   b. Great mineral resources, especially of iron and coal.
   c. A favorable climate.

   By these features China is fitted to be the home of a great race and as a source of raw materials is equaled by few countries.

   Latourette, *The Development of China*, chap. 1.

3. The Chinese People.
   a. They number over 300,000,000, the largest homogeneous group of mankind.
   b. Characteristics: industrious, able, frugal, democratic, honoring learning, idealistic and yet materialistic, highly civilized, vigorous mentally and physically.

   Latourette, *The Development of China*, chap. 4.

4. The profound changes that are taking place.
   a. The substitution of a republic for an empire.
   b. The influx of foreign learning, customs, and ideals through schools, newspapers, merchants, travelers, and missionaries. The migration of Chinese students to this country.
   c. The introduction of railways, steamships, the telegraph, a modern postal system, factories, and foreign goods, and the changes in Chinese industry and commerce which are resulting.

      Latourette, *The Development of China*, chaps. 6 and 7.

5. The weakness of China.
   a. Internal dissensions, governmental disorganization and civil war.
   b. Encroachments on China of foreign powers, particularly Japan, through leased territories, spheres of influence, mining, financial, and railway concessions, loans, exterritoriality, and control of the customs duties and the salt tax.

      Latourette, *The Development of China*, chaps. 5 and 6.

II. The outstanding features of the historical development which have resulted in the formation of present-day China.
   1. Geographic influences.
      a. The boundaries shut off the old China from other peoples, made her culture largely indigenous, and gave her a feeling of intense pride and conservatism.
      b. Her fertile soil, rivers, and climate favored the growth of her population and culture.
      c. The plateaus to the north and west were a source of frequent invasions.

         Latourette, *The Development of China*, chap. 1.

2. To the coming of the European: the formation of the old China.
   a. The original Chinese were in Northwest China and expanded gradually from perhaps 1500 B. C. until they attained their present boundaries. This expansion is still in progress, especially in Manchuria and in the Malay Peninsula.
   b. The formation of the family, which is one of the most ancient features of Chinese life and is to-day one of its outstanding characteristics.

      Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 131–37.
   c. The development of religions. There is a spirit of tolerance and a Chinese may be an Animist, Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucianist all in one.
      (1) The original faith was a kind of animism supplemented by a reverence for Heaven and Earth.
      (2) Taoism, in part mystical, in part frankly superstitious. Its origin is traced to Lao Tze of the sixth century, B.C.
      (3) Confucianism. This was first developed by Confucius (551–479 B.C.), but owes much also to later scholars, especially Mencius (fourth century B.C.) and Chu Hsi (twelfth century A.D.). It has a high standard of ethics, but minimizes the supernatural. Reverence for ancestors plays a large part in it.
      (4) Buddhism. This was introduced from India in the first century A.D., and after some centuries came to be one of the dominant faiths of the empire.
      (5) Mohammedanism. This has never

ranked numerically with the other faiths.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 21, 24, 35, 36, 42–46, 122–31.

d. Language and literature.
   (1) The spoken language is monosyllabic, not related to European tongues.
   (2) Written language: The Chinese character, partly pictographic, partly ideographic, partly phonetic.
   (3) The literature: very rich, especially in poetry, history, philosophy, and ethics.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 110–20.

e. Art: Particularly rich in paintings and porcelain.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 120–22.

f. Economic life.
   (1) Very highly developed. The Chinese have devoted their energies largely to this side of their life, in contrast with the Japanese who have traditionally been military in their ideals, and to the peoples of India whose distinguishing characteristic is interest in religion.
   (2) Agriculture: very skillful. Both land and water are made to yield almost to their fullest extent.
   (3) Industry: varied, but in the household or small shop stage.
   (4) The business and industrial organization was made up of gilds and partnerships, not joint stock companies.
   (5) Commerce was largely internal, for the country was vast and other civilized

peoples were far away. It was highly developed, however.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 90–96.

g. Political life.

(1) At first a small patriarchal state, with the emperor at the head.

(2) As the Chinese expanded the central government for a time was weakened, but in the third century before Christ the nation was united under two successive strong dynasties and a form of organization was adopted which with changes has persisted to our own day, although at times the nation has been divided for long centuries.

(3) The ideal of the state was the welfare of the people and rebellion against the ruling house was justifiable if misgovernment was persistent.

(4) The emperor was at the head of the state and was in theory absolute. There have been many dynasties, ten of them more important, and thirteen of secondary importance. A dynasty might be overthrown if it proved incapable of giving a satisfactory government.

(5) The emperor was assisted by a bureaucracy whose members were chosen by means of civil-service examinations based largely on Chinese literature. To the preparation for these examinations most of the attention of the formal education of the land was directed. The result was a premium on learning

and ability and a tendency toward democracy. There is no hereditary nobility among the Chinese and few hard and fast class distinctions.

(6) Local units, such as villages, largely self-governing.

(7) There was almost constant fighting with semi-nomadic non-Chinese peoples in the north and west, and at various times these overran part or all of the empire and dominated the government. The latest of these foreign conquerors were the Manchus (1644–1911). The conquerors have always adopted Chinese culture.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, chaps. 2, 3, 4.

3. The coming of the Europeans and the changes which have followed.

a. Medieval intercourse between Cathay (China) and Europe. Marco Polo and the Franciscans.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, p. 60.

b. The discovery of the sea route to the Far East and the arrival of the Portuguese, who were followed by the Spanish, Dutch, and English (16th and 17th centuries) and Catholic missionaries. This intercourse was carried on under close restrictions and did not very greatly affect Chinese life.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 64–67, 79–85.

c. Period of the gradual opening of China.

(1) First Chino-British war (1839–1842) and the treaties which followed, establishing treaty ports, a conventional

(fixed by treaty) tariff, and exterritoriality, and ceding Hongkong to Great Britain.

(2) Second Chino-British war, in which the French joined, leading to the toleration of Christianity. The opening of more treaty ports, and the residence of foreign ministers in Peking.

(3) Further intercourse through commerce, diplomacy, and Christian missions, and some further friction.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, chap. 5.

d. The Chino-Japanese war (1894–1895).

(1) Its causes: rivalry in Korea.

(2) Its results.

(a) The beginnings of Japanese expansion in the continent and Japanese assumption of Formosa.

(b) The strengthening of the reform movement in China.

(c) European aggressions.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 174–90.

e. The scramble of European Powers for Chinese territory, concessions, and spheres of influence.

(1) Russia in Manchuria.

(2) Germany in Shantung.

(3) Great Britain: Wei-hai-Wei, the Yangtze Valley, and opposite Hongkong.

(4) France in South China.

(5) The United States through Hay started the Open Door policy (1899).

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 180–88.

f. The reform movement, engineered by the

young emperor, 1898, followed by reaction under empress dowager and

g. The Boxer uprising (1900), a vigorous attempt to rid China of the foreigner. This was put down by joint action of the Powers. Among the penalties inflicted on China was a huge indemnity.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 190–96.

h. Russian aggression following the Boxer year became so menacing, especially to Japan, that the Russo-Japanese war followed, 1904–1905, and resulted in substituting Japan for Russia in southern Manchuria and in fixing Japan's hold firmly on Korea.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 196–201.

i. The effect upon China of the Boxer year and the Russo-Japanese war was to accentuate the reform movement and to accelerate the Europeanizing of China. Changes took place in education, commerce, and industry. Political changes were contemplated looking toward a constitutional government.

j. As part of the above changes, the Manchus were overthrown by a revolution (1911–1912) and a republic was established with Yuan Shih K'ai as its president.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 201–18.

k. China and the World War.

(1) Japan drove the Germans out of Shantung (1914) and made demands on China (1915) which greatly extended the control of the island empire over its huge neighbor.

(2) Yuan Shih K'ai tried to make himself emperor and, failing, died (1916) and was succeeded by Li Yuan Hung.
(3) China, at America's instance, broke with Germany (March, 1917) and later declared war on Germany.
(4) The question of war led to a split between the militaristic North and the more democratic South and to civil war between the two sections (1917–1919).
(5) The demands of China of the Peace Conference and the present status.

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 221–34.
Latourette, *China, the United States, and the War.*
Wheeler, *China and the World War.*

III. American relations with China.
1. Early intercourse and the first treaty, 1784–1844.
2. Anson Burlingame directed the first Chinese mission to Europe and America.
3. America excluded Chinese labor.
4. America stands for equal opportunity in China and the independence and territorial integrity of that country.
   a. The Hay policy (1899).
   b. America stood against the partition of China after the Boxer year. She remitted part of her share of the indemnity and from the proceeds Chinese students are sent to this country for education.
   c. America protested against Russian aggression in Manchuria (1901–1904).
   d. The Knox proposal to internationalize the Russian and Japanese railways in Manchuria (1910).

e. The Lansing-Ishii agreement (1917).
f. The American missionaries; a wholesome element in China.

Latourette, *China, The United States, and the War.*

Latourette, *The Development of China*, pp. 80, 147, 152, 163–66, 170, 171, 187, 188, 193, 197.

A Selected Bibliography

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Wheeler, W. R. *China and the World War.* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.

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Asia. The monthly publication of the American Asiatic Association.

2. JAPAN

THE purpose of this study should be to give a clear and unbiased picture of Japan's chief characteristics, problems, and policies and of her relations with the United States. In these days when Japan is so generally maligned, especially in America, it becomes necessary, if the peace of the world is to be maintained and justice done, that our students know her as she really is, both her bad and her good points. The attitude of the teacher should be neither pro-Japanese nor anti-Japanese, but to find and impart the truth. In light of the prejudices in this country, if there is to be error, it is probably better that it be in favor of, rather than against, Japan.

The outline needs no comments. It is to be hoped that all teachers before going to the class will have read carefully Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, *International Conciliation Pamphlet* No. 124, and Treat, *Japan, America, and the World War*. These ought to furnish a sufficient foundation for all the work contemplated by this outline. It is suggested that where possible the student be given assignments in this book and these pamphlets. Several copies of each may be obtained and put on the reserve shelf. Where the library has enough other material, a book can be assigned to each pupil for a written or oral report.

JAPAN

Topical Outline and Reading References

I. The advisability of Americans studying Japan. There is much misunderstanding and prejudice and anti-Japanese rumors are rife. Our press is for the most part intensely biased and our citizens need to know the facts and study them in a fair-minded manner.

II. Outstanding features of the Japan of to-day.

1. Geography.

a. The main component parts of the Japanese Empire.

(1) Islands: (area about the size of California) the Kuriles, south half of Sakhalin, Hokkaido, Hondo, Shikoku, Kyushu, the Ryu Kyu group, and Formosa.

(2) On the continent: Chosen (Korea), leased territory and railways in Manchuria, and temporary possession of the former German leased properties in Shantung Province.

b. Effects of Japan's insularity: a strong spirit of nationalism, sea power, and the command of the ocean approaches to the East coast of Asia.

c. The close cultural relation with the mainland. In early times the continent was the source of Japanese civilization; to-day Japan is helping to teach the more backward continent.

d. The natural resources of the islands. The arable land is limited and there is little iron and not a great deal of coal of good quality. The population is growing, and it must either emigrate to less crowded quarters of the globe, or it must be occupied with manufactures and commerce. If the latter, both a source of abun-

dant raw materials and an ample market must be found. This situation largely accounts for Japan's intense desire to develop close relations with China and to maintain there an open door for her trade. In China are to be found markets and quantities of coal, iron, foodstuffs, and other commodities which are needed for Japanese industry.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chap. 1.

2. National characteristics.
   a. The prominence of the emperor. He is held to be descended from the gods and his house has ruled "from ages eternal." All the government is carried on in his name and he is in theory absolute and is revered as divine.
   b. The importance of the military spirit and classes. The army and navy are very strong, there is compulsory military service, and the state is largely dominated by classes which are primarily military in their traditions and outlook.

      The Elder Statesman and the Bureaucracy. Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 80–85.
   c. The presence of constitutional government: a Diet, the lower house of which is elective, a cabinet (not responsible to the Diet, however), and the growth of democratic ideals.

      Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 138–47, 210–15.
   d. Intense patriotism, amounting to a religion.
   e. Very great sensitiveness on points of national and personal honor and resentment of any slights by Occidental nations, as, for example, the treatment of Japanese in California and

the question of race equality in the League of Nations.

f. Social and economic solidarity.
   (1) In the family. This and not the individual is the unit far more than in the West.
   (2) In the nation. The people are accustomed to having the government take the lead in all sorts of enterprises, economic, educational, political, and moral.

g. High store is set by politeness and good form.

h. A love of the beautiful.

i. Ability and willingness to adopt and adapt ideals, methods, and institutions from other peoples.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 85–96.

3. The rapid growth of industry, commerce, and wealth in the past few years. Japan, however, is still a poor country.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 215–18.

4. The religions of Japan.

a. Shinto, the old native faith, is primarily one of reverence for spirits, ancestors, the nation, and the imperial house.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 17, 18, 96–98.

b. Buddhism, a faith of Indian origin which came to Japan by way of China and Korea: It is very prominent, and has many temples and priests and is divided into numbers of sects.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 21, 22, 24–26, 98, 99, 221.

c. Confucianism. This cult, of Chinese origin, has probably affected Japanese ethical standards.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 75, 76, 100.

d. Christianity, while influential, still suffers from the opprobrium visited upon it when it was stamped out in the seventeenth century.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 59, 70–73, 162, 222.

e. Bushido, while not a distinct religion, as a code of conduct deserves especial mention at this point. It developed during feudal days and corresponds to European chivalry. Like chivalry, moreover, it has continued to influence the nation long after the social conditions which gave it birth have passed away.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 100–02.

5. Widespread intelligence through universal education and the growth of the printing press.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 161, 218–20.

6. Japan is to-day one of the most influential nations of the globe and is the dominant power in Eastern Asia.

III. How Japan came to be: Japan before the coming of the Westerner (to 1853).

1. The formation of the primitive Japanese state to the sixth century A.D.

a. The reputed divine origin of the race and particularly of the imperial house.

b. The establishment of a kingdom in what is now South Japan with its headquarters in the Yamato promontory.

c. Nearly constant fighting with aborigines.
d. Very simple culture.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chap. 2.

2. The transformation of Japan by the introduction of Buddhism and Chinese culture in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. Contact through succeeding centuries tended frequently to modify Japan.
   a. Religious transformation: the introduction and adoption of Buddhism. This brought with it much of continental culture, much as Christianity brought to Northern Europe the civilization of the Roman world.
   b. Intellectual transformation: the Chinese character was introduced, and by it the Japanese language was for the first time put into written form and a literature developed. Japanese is to-day written by Chinese characters and modifications of those characters. Chinese literature came in and a Japanese literature grew up.
   c. Political transformation.
      (1) The emperor was exalted.
      (2) A bureaucracy was organized on the Chinese model.
      (3) The capital was fixed, first at Nara and then at Kyoto, and these cities were laid out on the model of the Chinese capital.
      (4) The land was all nationalized and was to be redistributed periodically.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chap. 3.

3. The growth of feudalism and the domination of the state by the military class.
   a. The decay of the political institutions derived

from China led to the impotence of the emperor and his court, the rise of a system resembling European feudalism, and the transfer of power to a new military class.

b. Rival families of this military class fought for power and the representative of one of these organized the shogunate, a form of government by which the various warrior families dominated the state from 1192 to 1867.

This made the civilization of the old Japan predominantly military and left that spirit as a legacy to the nation of to-day.

c. The imperial house did not disappear, but while it was usually powerless in practice, in theory it remained supreme and the source of all authority.

d. One of the military families, the Tokugawa, which held the shogunate from 1603 to 1868, in order to preserve internal peace and unity excluded foreigners and foreign trade and kept the nation all but hermetically sealed against the West.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chaps. 4 and 5.

IV. How Japan came to be: since the coming of the Westerner (1853–1919).

1. The opening of Japan by the United States through Commodore Perry (1853) and the beginning of intercourse and treaty relations with the Occident.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chap. 7.

2. The period of complete internal transformation which resulted from the coming of the Westerners (1853–94).

a. Political transformation.

(1) The abolition of the shogunate and the

restoration of the emperor to actual power (1867).

(2) The voluntary surrender of the power of the feudal lords to the emperor and the end of the feudal system (1871).

(3) The removal of the capital from Kyoto to Tokyo.

(4) The substitution of a national army based on universal service for the old feudal army open only to members of the military class.

(5) A new code of laws.

(6) The official removal of the old class distinctions, although these continued to exist in practice.

(7) A new national currency and banking system, a national postal and telegraph service.

(8) The leadership of the government in all the reform movements.

(9) The introduction of a constitutional form of government (1890) and the rise of parties prepared the way for a democracy which is not yet realized except in a rudimentary way.

(10) The nation was under the partial tutelage of foreigners.

(a) Its tariff was fixed by treaties.

(b) Foreigners were not subject to Japanese laws (exterritoriality).

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chap. 8.

b. Economic changes. Introduction of railways, machinery, a modern banking system, and new methods of agriculture, and the beginnings of commerce and a merchant marine.

c. Intellectual changes.
   (1) The introduction of modern schools from the primary to the university and the institution of compulsory elementary education.
   (2) The coming in of Western ideas and books and the rise of the newspaper.

d. The reintroduction of Christianity and the revival of Shinto.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chap. 9.

3. Japan becomes a world power (1894–1919).
   a. The Chino-Japanese war (1894–95) in which Japan defeated China, became the dominant power in Korea, and acquired Formosa. Partly as a result the powers abolished exterritoriality and restored to Japan full tariff autonomy.

      Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 164–69.

   b. Japan helped the Occidental nations in the suppression of the Boxer uprising in China (1900).

      Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, p. 172.

   c. Japan became the ally of Great Britain in the Far East (1902).
   d. Japan checked Russian aggression in China by the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) and as a result acquired an extensive foothold in Southern Manchuria and annexed Korea (1910).
   e. Japan entered the Great War in 1914.
      (1) She helped drive the Germans out of the Pacific and captured their holdings north of the equator and in China (Shantung).

(2) She supplied the Allies, especially Russia, with munitions.

(3) She made extensive demands on China (1915) and made further arrangements in 1918. Her object was so to insure to herself an open door to the markets and resources of China that these could not be closed to her by Occidental Powers after the war had ended. In doing this she aroused grave fears and bitter animosities in China and serious suspicions in Europe and America.

(4) She joined with the United States in sending a force to restore order and assist the Czecho-Slovaks in Eastern Siberia.

(5) At the Peace Conference at Paris she was one of the five major powers, and has a similar position in the projected League of Nations.

(6) At the Peace Conference, too, she stood solidly against the Chinese demands for the immediate return to China of the former German properties in Shantung and the cancellation of the Chino-Japanese agreement of 1915.

4. Internal changes, 1894–1919.

a. An immense growth in population, commerce, industry, and wealth, especially since 1914.

b. An undercurrent of unrest and a greater tendency toward liberalism and democracy.

c. A continuation of party struggles which are tending to give the Diet a certain control over the Cabinet.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, chaps. 10, 11, 12.

Treat, *Japan, America, and the Great War.*

V. Japanese-American relations.

1. A period of friendship, 1853–1905.
   a. America had as a rule treated Japan with fairness and even generosity.
   b. Japan sent many students to the United States to be educated and looked upon America as a kind of big brother.

2. The period of mutual distrust, 1905–19.
   a. Causes of distrust.
      (1) Japanese immigration to the United States. This was voluntarily restricted by Japan in the "Gentlemen's Agreement" (1907), but Japanese cannot be naturalized and California in 1912 passed legislation especially directed against them. The Japanese resent this policy and the prejudice which precluded their free immigration.
      (2) Fear that Japan will violate the Monroe Doctrine and that she has designs on the Philippines and Hawaii. So far these fears are groundless.
      (3) Japanese commercial growth on the Pacific. This is a minor cause.
      (4) Americans distrust Japanese policies in China. Many of our countrymen believe her to have designs against Chinese independence and the doctrine of the Open Door.

      Many Japanese, on the other hand, resent America's interference with Japan's policies in China, are jealous of her popularity and influence, and fear that she may later become the aggressor in that country.

This at present is the chief source of serious friction.

b. Efforts to allay distrust.

These have been many. They include missions from Japan to America and from America to Japan, societies in this country to further a better understanding with Japan, various formal exchanges of notes, and particularly the Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917.

3. The necessity for a better understanding between the two peoples.

Latourette, *The Development of Japan*, pp. 200–09.

Latourette, *International Conciliation Pamphlet* No. 124.

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IV

A NATION IN THE MAKING

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE Filipinos are a nation in the making. To the student of nationality they offer a veritable laboratory of nation-building. Here one may observe even those earlier stages of national growth which have long since been lost to sight in the experience of older nations. Almost within the lifetime of high-school pupils these people have passed from the medieval forms of society to those of the twentieth century, compressing into a few short years changes which in Europe have only come with generations of effort. To-day, if the entire population of the islands be taken into account, they illustrate almost every grade of political and social condition from the most primitive to the most highly organized.

To the American the interest of the study is twofold, since this rapid transformation in the outward circumstances of Philippine life is largely due to the fact that the islands are an experiment station in the science of colonial administration as well as a laboratory of nationality. The American rulers of this region have consciously directed their efforts towards

governing a dependency and building a nation at one and the same time. This dual character gives to recent Philippine history its peculiar value.

Yet, since even these remote islands in the Pacific are not outside the bounds of party conflict, one who would avoid error in teaching the subject must walk warily. Much of the literature on the Philippines is controversial in character. The true meaning of events is obscured by conflicting accounts. Even the virtues and vices of the "little brown brother" are mixed in widely varying proportions according to the personal predilections of his observer. If time permitted and pupils were sufficiently mature, this subject would be an excellent training ground for exercise in the elements of historical criticism. Certainly no better chance to practice the weighing of evidence need be desired. In most high schools, however, circumstances will permit the teacher alone to make use of this opportunity to develop the critical faculty.

Fortunately, the questions most open to controversy are precisely those least essential to the purposes of this study. The student of nations is not called upon to pass judgment on the wisdom and righteousness of the conquest of the Philippines by the United States, nor need he set the proper date for Philippine independence. It is not his to decide whether the possession of the islands is an element of strength or of weakness in our military position in the East. The potential worth of the Filipinos as a

nation and the processes contributing to the development of their national life are the proper subject for his inquiry. In that direction alone he will find ample scope for his activities, without entering into the vexed questions of statesmanship.

A good introductory topic for the youthful student is to be found in the geographic and economic setting of Philippine life. This group of islands for whose exploration the adventurous Magellan gave up his life, afford a welcome relief from the humdrum existence of every day. Here even the view of the schoolhouse may be mitigated by palms and tropical vegetation. Farming operations all too familiar at home take on the charm of the unusual when conducted with the aid of a carabao instead of a horse. In this land people may be seen cooking gold fishes for supper, and the fruits of toil may take the delectable form of bananas or cocoanuts. Pearl fishing and sponge fishing raise visions of delight not to be dimmed by the possibility of typhoons, or crocodiles or sharks. The lure of the tropics is potent, even when its only medium is the imagination.

The historical interest in the Philippines begins for the American with Commodore Dewey's exploit in Manila Bay. Before that event the islands were held in subjection like eighteenth-century colonies. Since the Spanish-American war, with the subsequent purchase of the islands by the United States, they have been a 'prentice nation, still bound in tutelage to an

older power, but now definitely committed to the task of gaining proficiency in all that pertains to the "art and mystery" of self-government. Their history for the last twenty years is the story of their progress in that task.

It may be well to begin the study of Philippine life with a brief survey of the non-Christian tribes. Thanks to the zeal of Professor Dean Worcester and others, material is abundant for the study of these picturesque people. By a comparison of their customs with those of the more advanced nations the students may come to some appreciation of the long road their fathers have traveled in the acquisition of the arts of civilization. It may be worth while to make parallel studies of the methods of satisfying the primal necessities of food, clothing, and shelter which prevail under primitive tribal conditions and the ways of meeting the same needs to-day. A similar comparison of the organization of community life at various periods may be made fruitful of results. The utmost care should be taken, however, to have it definitely understood that these backward tribes no more represent the typical civilization of the Philippines than the American Indians represent the civilization of the United States. Both in their virtues and their vices the primitive people are a class apart, although they are now rapidly responding to the educational influences at work among them. The representative Filipinos are the Christian people who

form the great bulk of the population. They must be the chief constituent of the nation that is to be. To them the major part of the study must be directed.

For a clear understanding of the significance of each step in the progress of these Filipinos there is need of a preliminary survey of their condition before they felt the influence of American overlordship. It will be seen that the preceding centuries had already taught them much. It will also be evident that they still lacked many essentials for a self-governing commonwealth. As part of the legacy from pre-American days we may remark upon the traces of Chinese influence still discernible in the Philippine habit of thought. Even more in evidence are the results of the experience of several centuries in Western Christianity. Due recognition must be given to the work of the Spanish priests in establishing a community of language and ideals among the educated minority. Equally noteworthy is the racial and religious unity among the Christian tribes. This may be regarded as a hopeful foundation on which to build national unity. Likewise the freedom from a caste system or from a hereditary nobility may be accepted as paving the way for genuine social democracy.

At the same time emphasis must be laid upon the fact that the best fruits of civilization, knowledge and power, were under the Spanish régime reserved to the few, while ignorance and blind obedience were as yet

the lot of the many. The masses had no experience in self-government, the governing class had no backing from an intelligent public opinion. Other important features of their condition were the close union of Church and State, the lack of a common language, the almost entire lack of any literature save that of devotion. A little class discussion will make clear the evils of these conditions in a state that is to govern itself.

In connection with these political drawbacks may be considered the economic backwardness of the country. In Philippine industrial conditions the student will find reminders of the days before the Industrial Revolution in Europe. This is an agricultural country and in that respect resembles the American colonies before the Revolution. The country boy familiar with the ways of farmers will be carried back in thought to the days of his forefathers before agricultural machinery was invented. He can readily appreciate the hindrances to progress involved in ignorance of the natural sources of wealth, inadequate means of communication, defective currency, and lack of steady habits of industry.

Familiarity with American colonial history, too, will enable the pupil to appreciate the importance of the Philippine insurrections against Spain and the United States as a step toward national unity. Just as the Revolutionary War in America welded the thirteen colonies into a new degree of unity, so the solidarity of effort put forth by the Filipinos in the

attempt to establish their liberties tended to create new bonds of union. The fact that this sentiment was turned at last against the United States does not alter its significance.

As an expression of the spirit in which the United States undertook the task of colonial administration pupils should read President McKinley's instructions to the Taft Commission. The high standard of disinterestedness set by that document should be held as an ideal by every future citizen of the United States. Its unique character gains in impressiveness if it be compared with eighteenth-century ideas of colonial government, or indeed with much of the colonial theory and practice of the twentieth century. In supplement to this original definition of policy the utterances of President Taft and President Wilson on the Philippines should also be given attention.[1]

After the United States took possession of the islands the first specific task of the government was to give to life in the Philippines the safeguards common in other civilized communities. An interesting study may be made of the sanitary reforms promptly instituted: of the successful control of tropical diseases, and the establishment of up-to-date hospital and medical service, including the model leper colony. In like manner the measures taken to insure public order by the work of the constabulary and by

[1] Kalaw, Maximo N.: *The Case for the Filipinos*, Appendices B, C, D, and F. 12.

the use of model penal institutions are a valuable object lesson to the student, as to the Filipino.

Yet these undertakings were merely preliminaries. They were not the chief consideration of the authorities. As one of those who took part in the work has explained: "All the external and visible work of the government has been subordinated to the purpose of creating in the Filipinos a consciousness of race unity, a sense of nationality and capacity for self-government." [1] In the pursuit of this triple aim it was discovered, as it has recently been discovered in the United States, that "all problems of reconstruction resolve themselves into problems of education." As successive problems in education then, the history of the Philippines under American rule may be studied. It seems a subject made expressly for the so-called problem method of history study.

That the underlying purpose of the government was to nationalize the Filipino becomes evident when we note the attitude adopted toward all forms of local patriotism. The use of Philippine material in the schools wherever possible and especially the uniform encouragement given to the popular adulation for the Filipino hero, José Rizal, are striking instances in point. Classes will do well to read Rizal's poem, "My Last Thought" [2] written just before his execu-

[1] Elliott: *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government*, Preface.

[2] Kalaw, Maximo N.: *The Case for the Filipinos*, pp. 141–43. (Translation of "My Last Thought.")

tion by the Spaniards, both as a noble expression of passionate love of country and as an example of the kind of sentiment fostered by the United States in a dependency. The significance of this policy can be made clearer by contrast with the German denationalizing policy in Alsace-Lorraine. The Germans aimed to destroy all local sentiment, the Americans aim to encourage devotion to a local hero in the hope that this sentiment will crystallize around his name until it becomes a genuine nationalizing force.

The pedagogical method adopted by the government in its work as instructor in nationality is indicated in the watchword already familiar to teachers and pupils: "Learn by doing." The application of this formula to the political, social, and economic education of the Filipino is the guiding thread of Philippine history for the last twenty years. The process in itself is interesting to watch. It becomes still more absorbing as a subject of study if at each step the question is asked: "How does this particular enterprise tend to develop 'a consciousness of race unity, a sense of nationality and a capacity for self-government'?"

Naturally the most important lesson of the natives in learning by doing was in the department of civil government. The American rulers almost immediately put to the test of experience their belief in the efficacy of self-government as an educational agency. Nowhere else in history, except in revolu-

tionary times, have a people been advanced so rapidly as were the Filipinos. From government by commission they soon moved on to government by commission assisted by a representative assembly. Again from a representative assembly with an upper house responsible to outside control, it was but a step to a bi-cameral legislature in which both houses represented the people. With this went equally rapid extension of the franchise and Filipinization of the local governments. Pupils will see that this rapid promotion of the Filipino to a position of responsibility in the public service has the same educational aim as the early naturalization of foreigners in the United States.

Yet even high-school boys and girls will readily understand that the most democratic forms of civil government cannot be genuine instruments of popular will, if the large mass of the people in the state have neither the opportunity to inform themselves on public questions nor the power to judge of their merits. Those who have studied the history of the Greek city-states will have at hand forcible illustrations of this point. They will be quick to see the necessity in the Philippines of educating a stable and intelligent middle class in order to save the masses from the political exploitation of the few. They will recognize then the problem with which the government was confronted, namely, how best to develop an enlightened public opinion. They ought to ap-

preciate the value of the solution adopted to meet the problem, — the free public school as a training ground for democracy. From discussion of Americanization problems at home they will understand the reason for the requirement of the study of English everywhere, as a bond of union, and also as a means of entry for the Filipino into the treasury of Anglo-Saxon democratic thought. School lessons in history and the duties of citizenship, the school library as an encouragement to the reading habit, — these are clearly introduced in order to further the diffusion of political intelligence. Similar provisions in his own school will have for the pupil added significance, as he watches the application of these familiar agencies to the task of building a new nation in the Pacific.

In like manner all branches of the public service may be studied as subdivisions in the government's system of education for self-governing citizenship. In all of them is discernible the same intent to hasten the day when Filipinos shall hold, not merely subordinate positions, but those requiring powers of leadership. They all provide both object lessons and practice work for the years of apprenticeship in nation-building.

The Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources may be taken as an illustration of the method of instruction. Here the Bureaus of Agriculture and Forestry and Science, by experiment and research, are discovering to the inhabitants of the Philippines

the rich sources of wealth which they have in reserve, and by educational campaigns are spreading this knowledge throughout the islands. The Bureau of Agriculture, for instance, a group made up as largely as possible of Filipinos, devotes itself to experiments in farming methods suited to the country. Then, by farm settlements, extension work with lectures and "movies" the message is carried to remote villages. Meantime the schools, by agricultural instruction and school gardens, are preparing the younger generation to teach their fathers. Other bureaus of this department furnish equally good illustrations of the educational character of the public service, and of the relation of the public school to the need of the community. Since, if the national life is to be sound, economic progress and political progress must keep pace with each other, this economic education is a genuine contribution to the work of nationalization.

Along commercial lines the procedure has been the same. The government has first improved the environment, preparing the way for reconstruction by providing roads, steamboat lines and harbor facilities. Then the schools have not only provided the army of typists and stenographers needed for the clerical part of the work, they have given specific instruction in the grading of hemp and tobacco, so as to increase the market value of the product. In the last year before graduation they see to it that high-school

pupils are well informed as to the commercial and industrial opportunities offered by their country.

In this connection, if reliable evidence were obtainable, it would be interesting to make a comparison of the commercial treatment of the Philippines by the Congress of the United States with the treatment accorded the English colonies in America by the British Parliament. The Payne-Aldrich Bill and the Underwood Tariff Act are of course available for study, but what is needed is a thorough non-partisan discussion of the government's tariff policy as it has worked in actual practice, with reference both to the Philippines and to the commercial interests of the United States. For such a study no satisfactory material exists within the reach of pupils. The teacher must be content to point with pride to the increasing commercial prosperity of the islands, while at the same time quick to see any dangers that may exist in the present situation.

In the furtherance of industrial prosperity the schools are seen to be doing constructive work. This is especially true in the case of the household industries which play a much larger part in the Philippines than in countries which have developed a factory system. Here, as in France, the student will observe a marked degree of manual dexterity. And as the schools in France were seen to foster with great care this characteristic of their national genius, so in the Philippines the natural skill in fine handicrafts

already developed by the natives is given every advantage of training. The schools are even going into business, making a study of the designs most salable, and standardizing the work of the schools to meet the demands of foreign markets. Already Philippine embroideries are almost as common in American shops as those of French workmanship.

Another illustration of this educational policy which is interesting to students of fine handicrafts is the instruction in basketry given in the public schools. The bulletin of the Philippine Board of Education dealing with this subject calls attention to the bewildering variety of grasses, ferns, and fibrous plants found in the islands which yield suitable material for basket work, indicates the various ways in which these resources can be made commercially valuable, and gives specific instructions as to methods of work. The object is not merely to provide children with a livelihood. The director of education looks further into the economic and social conditions which the public school ought to serve, aiming "to give each pupil such school training as will make him, within the limits of his capacities, the most efficient producing unit possible, in the broad sense of producing the knowledge and skill needed by the community."[1] This industrial education has therefore a very real part in the work of nation-building.

[1] Marquardt, W. W.: *Eighteenth Annual Report of Director of Education*, p. 46.

These illustrations of the constructive educational work of the government in the Philippines may be extended almost indefinitely. Every department of the public service may be studied as an educational agency. Every one is seen to have its part in the construction of the nation. The extent to which the study shall be carried need only be limited by the amount of available time.

In considering the Philippines the question of paramount importance in all minds is this: How far has the experiment in nation-building succeeded? If the subject had only academic interest, one would still want to know how the story came out. But now that the 'prentice nation is loudly proclaiming its proficiency in self-government, and demanding its freedom papers, information as to the present status of the Filipino is of vital interest. Pupils who may be called upon to pass judgment on this matter in the years to come should know at least the kind of evidence to be taken into the account.

For the most part the study of present tendencies in the Philippines must be based upon reports of conditions in the years 1915–17. For that period the official publications of the government offer some guidance. From them we may judge, at least tentatively, how far the Filipino has advanced to a position of mastery over his economic resources, and more important still, how far he has learned to govern himself in accordance with the interests of the nation as a whole.

There are many indications of economic progress. The student will find reason to believe that the Filipino is filling more and more the important places in industries conducted along modern lines. In the lumber trade, for example, while many small companies still carry on the work in primitive fashion, there are also large concerns with fully equipped machinery and technical service in which all but the very highest places are filled by Filipinos. Among recent ventures may be noted also the establishment of a cement mill on Filipino initiative and with native capital. Another promising sign is the increasing inclination of the native Filipino who has money to invest to seek opportunities at home rather than in foreign countries. That the industrial unrest common to the rest of the world has reached the islands is indicated by the fact that the year 1917 saw thirty-seven strikes in the city of Manila alone. That most of these disturbances were easily settled by a reasonable increase in wages would seem to indicate the same general upward trend of labor in the East as in the West. This general tendency, as it shows itself in the Philippines, has been commented on by one observer as follows: "Wants are multiplying. What was good enough for Juan's father is not good enough for Juan. This incentive is constituting a large factor in the development that is slowly beginning to appear. Tobacco, sugar, Manila hemp and copra are increasingly being converted into the real-

ization of present needs, which but yesterday were luxuries." [1]

Yet pupils must not jump to the conclusion that the Filipino is already completely master of his own economic resources. In the most highly organized industries he has not yet reached the positions of the highest responsibility, although he is rapidly approaching it. In certain lines he is still outdistanced by the foreigner. Thus we were told in the year 1916 "the best business men are the Chinese" and "the Chinese pay the largest part of the internal revenue." The same observer reported "an insistent and increasing inroad of Japanese capital." "Already," he says, "the Japanese control much of the fisheries and the pearl fisheries, and have entered the sugar and lumber fields quite extensively, besides other industries." [1]

These bits of testimony are not offered as a final summary of the degree of economic independence which the Filipino has achieved, but as samples of the kind of evidence which must be given consideration before any final judgment can be reached.

The same judicial method must be employed in gauging the present political development of the people. Such qualities as "consciousness of race unity, sense of nationality and capacity for self-gov-

[1] Robertson, James Alexander: "The Philippines since the Inauguration of the Philippine Assembly"; in *American Historical Review*, July, 1917, pp. 826–28.

ernment" may not easily be measured. It is impossible as yet to say exactly how far the Filipinos have progressed in these respects. Mr. James A. Robertson, a well-known authority on the Philippines, speaking in 1916 before the American Historical Association, said: "The Filipino politician has nothing to learn from Americans. He knows the game. The vital question is whether there is enough of that quality that may be termed statesmanship to steer a nation safely through the quicksands and over the shoals of an independent government. There are some indications against it, but there are on the other hand a few men who have reached a higher level than that of the mere politician. The opportunity for a fuller testing has come with the Jones Act, by which the Philippine Commission has been abolished and an elective Philippine Senate erected as the upper house of the Philippine Legislature. There must be doubt, however, just so long as an American Governor General has the last word over legislation." [1]

This cautious opinion may now be supplemented by the testimony of Mr. Maximo N. Kalaw in his recent book, *Self-Government in the Philippines*, in which he traces the progress of the years of home rule under the Jones Act. His account of the wisdom and political capacity displayed by his countrymen cannot but be grateful to all friends of the Filipinos,

[1] "The Philippines since the Inauguration of the Philippine Assembly"; in *American Historical Review*, July, 1917, p. 830.

whatever their political opinions. But it must be remembered that this is strictly *ex parte* testimony. Mr. Kalaw is the avowed champion of Philippine independence and his book is written with the definite intent to further that movement. As such it must be somewhat lacking in the judicial quality of Mr. Robertson's treatment of the subject.

The high-school pupil must be taught to recognize the difference between these two kinds of evidence. He will find the process distasteful, for he is naturally a person of quick decisions and definite opinions. The greater is the need therefore to impress upon him the necessity for holding his opinion in abeyance.

Nor is this the only lesson which Philippine history has to teach him. He has had under observation here a backward people, whom he must judge, as Mr. Kingsley has said, not by their achievements, but by their potential value to the world. It is the study of formative processes, quite different from the previous work in which he has been dealing with peoples whose national type was already fixed, and whose distinctive national genius he has been able to recognize. Its intellectual result for the student should be a better understanding of the forces which make for progress in the social evolution of mankind. Its ethical reward should be a more intelligent sympathy with "all sorts and conditions of men."

A NATION IN THE MAKING

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Topical Outline and Reading References

A. Geographic Situation.
   Climate.
   Natural resources.
   Position with reference to China and Japan.

   References:
   Miller and Storms, *Economic Conditions in the Philippines.*
   Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines*, pp. 1–14.

B. Occupation of the Philippines by the United States.
   The Spanish-American War.
   Purchase of the Philippines by the United States.
   Suppression of the insurrection under Aguinaldo.

   References: Fernández, *A Brief History of the Philippines*, pp. 240–73.
   Latané, *America as a World Power*, pp. 33–38, 69–99, 153–54.
   Payne, *Colonies of the World*, pp. 311–21.

C. The Inhabitants of the Philippines at the End of the Spanish Régime.
   Races.
   Religious condition.
   Varying degrees of civilization.
      a. The wild tribes.
      b. The Christian Filipinos.
         Political condition.
            Lack of unity.
            Lack of experience in self-government.
         Social and economic condition.
            Education limited to a minority.
            Agriculture and industry in a backward state.
            Conditions of life much like those of the Middle Ages.

References: Bourne, *The Philippine Islands.*
Crow, *America and the Philippines*, pp. 41–49.
Miller and Storms, *Economic Conditions in the Philippines*, pp. 1–23.
Robertson, "The Philippines since the Inauguration of the Philippine Assembly"; in *American Historical Review*, July, 1917, pp. 811–15.
Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present*, vol. II, pp. 532–636.
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D. Progress of the Filipinos as an Apprentice Nation.

I. Physical reconstruction.

II. Enforcement of public order.
The Constabulary.

References:
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III. Reconstruction of the Government.
  1. Successive changes in form of government.
    a. Military rule (1899–1901).
    b. Government by commission (1900–07).
    c. Territorial form of government (1907–13).
    d. Majority in commission given to Filipinos (1913).
    e. Elective legislature of two houses (1916).
  2. Extension of franchise.
  3. Filipinization of local government.
  4. Filipinization of judiciary.
  5. The Philippine civil service.

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Brent, "Tutoring the Philippines"; in *Yale Review*, July, 1917, pp. 722–25.

Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government*, pp. 77, 96–126, 402–18, 431–41.

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IV. Economic reconstruction.
- Purchase of friar lands.
- Improvement of agriculture.
- Revision of currency.
- Improvement in means of communication.
- Investigation of natural resources.

References:

Crow, *America and the Philippines*, pp. 199–227.

Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government*, chaps. 4, 6, 7, 8.

Fernández, *A Brief History of the Philippines*, pp. 281–89.

V. Educational reconstruction.
- Extension of educational opportunity to all classes.
- Work directed toward training in citizenship.
  - Teaching of the English language.
  - Instruction in the duties of citizenship.
  - Encouragement of coöperative effort.
  - Inculcation of a sense of public responsibility.
- Work for betterment of economic conditions.
  - Instruction in economic condition of the Philippines.
  - Instruction in agriculture and household industries.
  - Instruction in commercial branches.

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Robertson, "The Philippines since the Inauguration of the Philippine Assembly"; in *American Historical Review*, July, 1917, pp. 826–28.

E. Conditions in 1917.

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Indications as to degree of mastery over economic resources.

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[1] This list is not, of course, intended as an exhaustive bibliography. The titles have been selected with special reference to the needs of the teacher who must work with limited library facilities.

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